

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
WALSLEY,  
IN NINE BOOKS:

WITH AN  
APPENDIX.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM WARRINGTON,

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF BESBOROUGH.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. II.  
THE THIRD EDITION.

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“Wherever Nature, though in narrow space,  
Fosters, by Freedom’s aid, a liberal race;  
Sees Virtue save them from Oppression’s den,  
And cries, with exultation, ‘These are men;’  
Though in Bæotia or Batavia born,  
Their deeds the story of the world adorn.”

HAYLEY’S ESSAY ON HISTORY.

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## E R R A T A.

Page 123, line 15, for *The troops was at this time reduced*, read *The  
troops were at this time.*

Page 161, in date, for 1259, read 43d of Henry III.

231, line 8, for *devastation*, read *devastation.*

271, in the note, for *Buelli*, read *Buelli.*

H I S T O R Y

OF

W A L E S.

---

B O O K VII.

OM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP  
JORWERTH TO THE DEATH OF DAVID  
AP LLEWELYN.

JORWERTH the son of Owen Gwynedh, on  
father's decease, had been set aside from the  
cession of North Wales, on account of a  
sonal blemish. His son Llewelyn, by this  
ne, arrived at years of maturity, and de-  
ous of asserting his indubitable right to  
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the



the throne, solicited the assistance of his friends in Powys; his mother being the daughter of Madoc the chief of that family. With the aid which he obtained from thence, and what he received from his own kinsmen in North Wales, he demanded the crown in preference to David his uncle. The claim of the young prince, assisted by his popular talents, was allowed. In this easy manner was Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, placed in the sovereignty of North Wales. His uncle David, the late reigning prince, retained in his possession only a few fortresses which were garrisoned by the English.<sup>1</sup>

A. D.  
1194.

A. D.  
1194.  
5th of  
Rich<sup>d</sup>. I.

RICHARD king of England, returned, at this time, into his own dominions; having engaged four years before in a croisade to the Holy Land; led away by his own romantic spirit, and the epidemic frenzy of the age.

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 245.

DURING

DURING the absence of the English A. D. 1195.  
monarch in France, the archbishop of Can-

terbury was appointed justiciary of the realm; and repairing to the Welsh Borders' with a large army, he laid siege to the castle of Pool, the property of Gwenwynwyn the son of Owen Cyveilioc. But finding his endeavours to take the place by storm not successful, he began to undermine the walls; which the garrison perceiving, yielded up the fortress, on condition that they should be allowed to depart with their arms. The works of the castle being strengthened, and an English garrison placed in it, the archbishop returned into England. On his departure, it was retaken by the original proprietor, on the same conditions on which it had been given up before.<sup>2</sup>

A SERIES of hostilities with his sons, had of late years imbibited the peace, and had

<sup>1</sup> Roger Hovedon, p. 775.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 248.

marked the conduct of Rhys ap Gryffyth.

Having at length ended the unnatural contest, by surprising two of his sons, and securing their persons in prison, he revolted from his allegiance to king Richard; being desirous of enlarging his territories, or touched by a sense of returning virtue. The absence of the English prince, during his residence in foreign countries, might encourage the most sanguine hopes; and afforded to Rhys a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his designs. The revolt opened by laying siege to the town and castle of Caermarthen, of which he easily gained possession; then, A. D. after laying waste the adjacent country, he 1195. led his army into the marches, and invested the castle of Clun; which, after a long siege,

1 In the first year of king Richard's reign, Rhys ap Gryffyth came into England as far as Oxford, conducted by the earl of Moreton. And because the king would not personally meet the said Gryffyth, as his father had done, he fell into a passion and returned into his own country. See Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 459.

and many terrible assaults, he made himself master of, and entirely demolished. From thence he proceeded to Radnor, which fortresses he likewise obtained. To the defence of this place Sir Roger Mortimer came with a considerable body of well armed and veteran troops, which were opposed by the raw and almost unarmed soldiers of the Welsh prince; who, falling from the castle, drove the English after a bloody action out of the field. He then proceeded to Payne castle in Elvel, which having reduced, he delivered it back to William de Bruce on certain conditions.<sup>1</sup>

THE late enterprises, which had given a A. D. 1196.  
lustre to his declining day, closed the career of Rhys ap Gryffydd; and, in a little time after, he quitted this world, on the stage of which he had exhibited uncommon versatility of character.<sup>2</sup> If there had been less of

caprice

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

<sup>2</sup> He was interred in the Abbey of Strata Florida, † in the county of Caerdigan, which he himself had erected;

† *Wstrad. Fflur.*



caprice in his conduct, if his valour, his patriotism, and other talents for command, had been directed by a steady and uniform principle, the name of this prince would have appeared with the highest glory in the annals of his country; the honour and the liberties of which, he, at times, defended, with so much zeal and success.

A. D.  
1197.

DAVID, the lately deposed prince of North Wales, assisted by an army of English, and a body of Welsh who still adhered to his fortunes, made an attempt to recover the sovereignty he had lost. But the enterprise was easily disconcerted by the rapidity of Llewelyn; who, advancing to give his uncle the meeting, defeated his forces, took him prisoner, and lodged him in confinement.\*

AL-

and which became the burial place of the succeeding lords of his family. Manuscript of Edward Llwyd in Sir John Seabright's collection. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 19. Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

\* At the close of this year Owen Cyveilioc died, leaving the higher Powys to his son Gwenwynwyn; which terri-

tory

ALTHOUGH by the combined influence of policy and power, the English had at length obtained the ascendancy in South Wales; individuals were frequently hurried into revolt, by the perfidious and inhuman conduct of the lords of the marches: but the ineffectual efforts of this miserable people to recover their liberties, or to avenge their wrongs, as they acted only from the spur of their feelings, without concert or prudence, served only to rivet more closely their chains. Trahaearn Vychan, a chieftain of distinction in Brecknock, as he was repairing to Langors to confer on business with William de Bruce lord of that country, was arrested by order of the English baron; tied to a horse's tail, and in that ignominious manner dragged through the town to the gallows, where he

tory in future was called by the name of that chieftain, to distinguish it from Powys Vadoc, the other division of that country. This prince was a Bard of some eminence; a few poems of his are extant at this day, A. D. 1197. Welsh Chron. p. 259, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

B 4 was

was beheaded, and his body suspended by the feet three days.\*

In revenge of this outrage, Gwenwynwyn laid siege to the castle of Matilda\* in Elvel, the property of William de Bruce; declaring that after he had gained possession of that fortress, he would set fire to all the country as far as the Severn; a sacrifice which he owed to the manes of Trahaearn Vychan his kinsman.

Not having any miners in his army, or battering engines, the Welsh chieftain lay three weeks before the castle; which delay gave time to William de Bruce to send into England for succour. Geoffrey Fitz Peter, justiciary of England, instantly came to his relief, having joined to his army the different powers of the lords of the marches; and as the event of war was uncertain, he was desirous of terminating the dispute by

\* Welsh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 7c.

\* In the present county of Radnor.

concluding a peace with Gwenwynwyn. The offer was rejected with disdain. The Welsh declared their firm resolution of avenging, in this enterprise, the ancient wrongs of their country. The English, then, released out of confinement Gryffydd, the son of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd; between whom and Gwenwynwyn they knew, at this time, subsisted a deadly feud; and being joined by the forces raised by that chieftain, they advanced to the relief of the castle of Matilda. Confident of his strength, Gwenwynwyn faced the English in an open plain; though experience might have convinced him of the prudence of a different conduct. In this action the Welsh were defeated; if that can with propriety be called an action, in which no other loss was sustained by the English army, than that of a single soldier, and even that soldier slain by a random arrow from his own party. Besides the wounded and the prisoners, many of whom were of considerable note, three thousand and seventy of the Welsh were left dead on



on the field.' It is not easy to account for the facility with which the English obtained this victory. The rashness of the Welsh leader was probably the cause of his defeat; in fighting on the open plain, with such troops as his own, undisciplined and slightly armed, against a firm and well appointed body like the English.

A. D. At this time Richard king of England  
1199.  
was slain at the siege of Chalons, an incon- siderable town in Limosin. John his brother succeeded to the throne.

DEEPLY engaged in foreign concerns, the English prince, on his accession, sent Hubert de Burgh his chamberlain, with one hundred knights, to protect the marches on the confines of Wales.<sup>1</sup> A treaty of peace was, likewise, concluded between Llewelyn ap Jor-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 162. Holinhead, p. 154. Welsh Chron. p. 252, speaks of the defeat, but not of the number slain.

<sup>2</sup> Roger Hovedon, p. 819. Holinhead, p. 163.

worth prince of North Wales, and the earl of Essex justiciary of the realm. In this treaty, Llewelyn, with the principal chieftains of his realm, swore to the observance of the following articles. To maintain perpetual fidelity to king John, in the fulness of feudal ideas. To receive at the hands of the justiciary of England livery and seisin of his territories; which he was to hold in security until the king's return. On the arrival of the English king, when summoned to appear, he should come and pay homage to him as to his liege lord; but when that duty was performed, he was to return into his own country in perfect security; only liable to pay a strict obedience to any summons of the like nature. In consideration of this, the king was to pardon all offences committed prior to the day of pacification; but if any complaints should arise in future, it was to be in Llewelyn's choice, whether the cause should be tried by the laws of England, or by those of Wales. If he chose that the merits of his

his cause should be tried according to the English law, a court was to be appointed in England; where judgement should be given agreeably to the laws of that country. If the prince was desirous that the Welsh law should determine the controversy, and it were found on inquiry that he had a right to take cognisance of such a matter, the cause should then be decided in his own court; but if it were found otherwise, the king, in that case, was to send some of his own subjects, eminent for their wisdom, into the territory of Llewelyn, and where the matter was in controversy; before whom the cause should be tried and judgement given by a certain number of Welshmen, selected from places at a distance as being on that account not liable to the suspicion of partiality; and their award was to be final. If after the ratification of the peace, any injury should be done by Llewelyn to the king, or to any of his subjects, reparation should be made agreeably to the award of some of the English nobility, particularly men

mentioned for that purpose. But it was also required from those arbitrators, that they should administer judgement with justice, to the honour of God and of the king. If any injury was done in the English territories, and the offenders should escape into the dominions of Llewelyn, and the persons suffering the damage, or others, pursuing them into the said dominions, that Llewelyn should cause the plunder to be restored, and execute justice on the malefactors. If the offenders should have escaped into the territories of Llewelyn, or concealed themselves therein, that prince, then, engaged to do all in his power to obtain satisfaction, as if the injury had been done to himself. This peace was signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and by the son of the justiciary of the realm; who set their seals to the writing as a security for the due observance of the treaty, until it should be ratified by the king on his return into England. The tenor of this treaty, though in general formed on the principles of

A. D.

1202.

3d of  
John.



of justice, was so fully expressive of vassalage, that it seems, as if the independency of Wales was annihilated.<sup>1</sup>

THE peace with England afforded Llewelyn the opportunity of exerting the native vigour of his mind. Some time before, he had confiscated the estates of Meredydh his cousin, and had banished him the realm upon suspicion of treason.<sup>2</sup> He thought an interval of leisure could not be more usefully employed, than in attempting to restore the ancient constitution of his country; a rud though venerable fabric; which, having long remained a monument of its pristine grandeur, had fallen into decay in the lapse of ages.

THE Welsh princes, by the laws of Roderic the Great, and by those of Howel Dha

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> The Cantreys of Llun and Evionydd, situated in the South West parts of Caernarvonshire. Hist. Gwedir Family p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 20. though

though independent in their own territories, yet acknowledged the sovereignty of North Wales. To connect the loose and separated parts into one system of government, Llewelyn convened an assembly of all the chieftains throughout Wales. These nobles, sensible of the advantage of union, and of adhering to ancient forms, took the usual oaths of fealty. Gwenwynwyn, alone, the lord of the higher Powys, refused to attend the meeting, or to take the oath of allegiance. His refusal being known to the assembly, they declared, that he ought to be compelled to the performance of his duty, or to forfeit his territories, as a part of the feudal obligation. One chieftain, alone, of the name of Elis, refused his consent to any mode of compulsion, and suddenly withdrew from the meeting. Deeply interested in the event, Llewelyn did not suffer the seeds of disobedience to mature by time into stronger resistance. He led an army into Powys; but

<sup>1</sup> British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

that

that force, by the mediation of several persons in estimation for wisdom in the country, was rendered unnecessary; and Gwennwynwyd made his submission to the prince of Wales, which he confirmed by the usual formalities. Resenting the conduct of Elis, Llewelyn took possession of his estates, and obliged him to fly out of the country; but that chieftain, soon afterwards, yielding himself up to his mercy, had a castle, with some lands, assigned him for his maintenance. Having A. D. so happily finished this important measure  
1203. Llewelyn returned into North Wales.\*

THE English king, having lost a great part of his territories in France, returned into England. On his arrival, he gave Joan a daughter, which he had by a lady of the house of Ferrers, in marriage to Llewelyn, as a reward for the due observance of the late treaty, or as a means of securing those advantages, which he might think would natu-

\* Welsh Chron. p. 257, 258.

rally result from such an alliance. With this lady, was given as a dower, the lordship of Elefsmere in Shropshire.<sup>1</sup>

A. D.  
1204.  
5th of  
John.

PRINCE LLEWELYN, in his youth, had married Tangwyfll, daughter of Llywarch Goch the lord of Rhos; by whom he had a son, very brave, called Gryffyth ap Llewelyn; who, as heir apparent, had the *Cantreus* of Englefield, Rhos, Rhyvonioc, and Dyffryn Clwyd given him by his father, being the country adjoining to England; in order that the young prince might be induced, by a closer motive of interest, to defend his own territories, from the common enemy the English. He married, during his father's life, Sina daughter of Cariadoc ap Thomas.\*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 22. says she was a legitimate daughter. Fabian, in his reign of John says, that she was a natural one. Welsh Chron. p. 259.

\* Ap Roderic ap Owen Gwynedd. <sup>2</sup> Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 24. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.



DAVID, the deposed prince of North Wales, having been set at liberty by his nephew, fled into England; and procured in that country an army to assist him in recovering the throne. The enterprise failed of success; he was met on his march by Llewelyn, and his army defeated;<sup>1</sup> and some time after, that unfortunate prince, with his son Owen, were slain at Conway.<sup>2</sup>

GWENWYNWYN, the chief of the higher Powys, having repaired to Shrewsbury, that he might confer with the lords of the council, was arrested by their order, and detained prisoner;<sup>3</sup> without any apparent cause, unless to extort, as conditions of obtaining his liberty, the following concessions. That he should, in the usual forms, become a vassal to the king of England; that he should serve him faithfully as holding under him his life and territories; that he should abide the

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Gwedir Fam. p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 260.

justice of his courts whenever summoned to attend; that he should deliver up twenty hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and should remain in custody until those hostages were all given up. At the same time the king bound himself to take his territories under his protection, and to be responsible for any injury which they might receive.

A. D.  
1208<sup>4</sup>

In this situation of Powys, Llewelyn invaded the territories of the imprisoned chief-  
tain, and gained possession of all his castles and towns; he then marched into South Wales, and after some slight successes, returned into his own country.<sup>1</sup> The same year, however, in consequence of Llewelyn's submission, as appears by his letters directed to the king at Bristol, a full pardon was granted him by that monarch, for the depredations he had lately committed on the terri-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. I. p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Welsh Chron.* p. 261.

ories of Gwenwynwyn, while under his protection ;<sup>1</sup> which pardon appears also to have been confirmed the year following ; as the Welsh prince did homage, either in person or by proxy, to the king at Woodstock.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1209.

THE earl of Chester, having made an inroad into North Wales, rebuilt the castle of Diganwy upon the water of Conway, which had been lately demolished by Llewelyn ; he likewise more strongly fortified the castle of Holywell.\* The prince of Wales in return, invaded the earl's territories, desolated a great part of them, and carried away considerable plunder.<sup>3</sup>

A. D.  
1210.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 191. who says, that this was the first homage which had ever been heard of, and that such journeys were very oppressive both to the rich and poor.

\* *Trefſynnon*.—A. D. 1210. This year died Maud de Bruce, wife to Gryffydd ap Rhys, and was buried in monk's cowl, at Strata-Florida, by her husband. Welsh Chron. p. 264.  
<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 262.

INCENSED at this incursion, and breach of fidelity, John assembled a large army at Oswestry, upon the Borders of Wales. He was there joined by many of the Welsh chief-<sup>1211.</sup> A. D. tains his vassals; the most considerable of<sup>1211.</sup> 12th of whom were Madoc ap Gryffyth Maelor, John. and Gwenwynwyn, who on this occasion was restored to his liberty; besides the two sons of Rhys, the late prince of South Wales. With this formidable army he marched to Chester, in the full resolution of exterminating the people of North Wales.<sup>1</sup>

LLEWELYN, unable to resist a force, composed not only of a foreign enemy, but of his own vassals, who had basely deserted their late engagements, thought it prudent to withdraw from the storm; and he ordered the inhabitants of the inland country,<sup>2</sup> to remove with their goods and cattle to the mountains of Snowdun. The English army,

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Parts of Denbighshire and Flintshire.



advancing along the sea coast, came to Rhuddlan;\* and from thence to the castle of Diganwy,' opposite to the country of Snowdun; where they remained for some time. But Llewelyn so continually infested the roads with his light parties, that John and his forces were reduced to the greatest difficulties. By cutting off their provisions as they arrived out of England, the army was reduced to the necessity of feeding upon the flesh of horses; and the soldiers, whenever they stirred from the camp, were liable to be cut in pieces; the Welsh, from a knowledge of the country, and from being posted on eminences, had usually the advantage in every skirmish. From this situation, John thought it prudent, after the loss he had sustained, to retreat into England, stung with disgrace, and breathing the spirit of revenge.<sup>2</sup>

\* Red Banks; and which might probably take its name from the appearance of the country; or from the battle, so fatal to the Welsh, which was fought upon Rhuddlan marsh.

<sup>2</sup> Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welsh Chr. p. 264. <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

## HAVING

HAVING augmented his army, a few A. D. months after, the king came again to Oswestry; and being there joined by the Welsh chieftains<sup>1</sup> who were his vassals,

he advanced to the Conway; which having passed, he encamped his forces upon the banks of that river. He then dispatched a detachment of his army, attended by proper guides, to burn the town of Bangor. The design was executed with spirit and success; the place was set on fire, and Rotpert the bishop of that diocese taken prisoner, though afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks. Llewelyn, seeing the power of Wales and of England combined against him, and that power, too, commanded by an English monarch, who had penetrated far into his country; and seeing also that he, himself, was confined within the extreme

<sup>1</sup> Howel ap Gryffyth ap Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd; Madoc ap Gryffyth Maelor, Lord of Bromfield, Cherk, and Yale; Meredyth ap Rotpert, lord of Cydewen; Gwynwyn, lord of Powys; Maelgon and Rhys Vychan, the sons of prince Rhys of South Wales.—Welsh Chron. p. 264.

verge of his dominions, thought it more prudent to sue for peace, at the expence of some important concessions, rather than to hazard the whole, by carrying on so unequal a contest. As he had in his own person so little pretension to the king's clemency, having lately violated the probable conditions of his pardon, Llewelyn thought it more wise to negotiate by the mediation of his wife. This princess so powerfully interceded with her father, that he was willing, on certain conditions, to take Llewelyn into favour. Hostages were sent to that prince; that he might with safety repair to the English camp; where, having done homage, a peace was concluded on the conditions of giving forty horses, and twenty thousand head of cattle, towards defraying the expences of the war; he likewise ceded to the king for ever the inland parts of his dominions. Twenty-eight hostages were given by Llewelyn, as a security for the observance of the treaty. After this fortunate expedition, king John returned

returned into England.' Resenting the conduct of those military vassals who had not served him in the late expedition, he exacted A. D. 1211. from every knight, a scutage of two marks of silver.<sup>2</sup>

THUS was the remnant of the British empire, after many and gallant struggles for freedom, driven almost to the verge of the ocean. But the prosperity of this injured people, though deeply clouded for the present, was not extinguished for ever. Their native spirit, confined in narrow limits, and set on fire by the agency of various causes, burst through every restraint; and, like the irruptive violence of a volcano, poured down devastation and vengeance upon the heads of their hated oppressors.

THE wild disorder in the conduct of the king of England, happily for posterity, had convulsed every part of his dominions; and,

<sup>1</sup> *Annales Margan*, p. 15. says thirty-two hostages. *Welsh Chron.* p. 265. *Thomas Wykes*, p. 36. *Chron. Walter Hemingford*, p. 556.

<sup>2</sup> *Matth. Paris*, p. 193, 194.

aided



aided by superstition, had loosened every spring of government, and every tie of duty or affection which binds the subject to the prince. The Pope, at this time, released Wales from the interdict under which that country had lain; and also absolved Llewelyn from the oaths of homage and allegiance which he had taken at the late peace.

A CONJUNCTURE so favourable determined Llewelyn, if possible, to rescue his country from the vassalage, into which it had fallen by the necessity of affairs, and the disunion of its chieftains. He convened, for this purpose, Gwenwynwyn, and Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, the lords of Powys; with Maelgwyn ap Rhys from South Wales, and Meredydd

A. D. ap Rotpert from Cydwelen. To these chieftains, he represented the miserable situation of their country, owing to their own want of virtue, in having basely deserted its interests; he assured them, that even now, by their spirit and united exertions, instead of

\* Matth. Paris, p. 194. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 174.  
British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 26.

living

living voluntary and abject vassals under the pressure of a foreign yoke, they might still enjoy their ancient liberties under the dominion of their native princes. Superstition, or the force of his reasoning, or the mingled effect of both, impressed on the minds of these capricious chieftains, a momentary gleam of patriotism. They once again took the oaths of allegiance to the prince of North Wales. Being joined by their several powers, Llewelyn commenced hostilities; seizing all the fortresses which the English possessed in his dominions, and putting to the sword, with a barbarous rage, all the knights and soldiers who defended them.<sup>1</sup> In the course of this inroad, he set on fire many villages, and carried away very considerable plunder.<sup>2</sup> Not being able to make any impression on the castle of Rhuddlan, and on the strong fortrefs of Diganwy, he fell with great fury upon Powys, and invested the castle of Manaval, lately fortified by Robert Vepon;

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 266.<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 194.

but

but the strength of that fortress, delaying, some time, his operations, gave John an opportunity of coming to its relief. On his approach the confederates retired. Having caused this fortress to be demolished, king John returned into England, more important objects, in his own dominions, demanding his attention. Llewelyn, on the king's departure, again rendered the marches a scene of desolation.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as John heard of these incursions, of the ravages which Llewelyn had made, and of the cruelties he had exercised on his prisoners, he advanced to Nottingham, with a great army of infantry and horse; in the full resolution of chastising the revolvers, by exterminating the inhabitants of the country. So violent was his anger, that the moment he arrived at that town, he commanded the hostages, twenty-eight in number, to be

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 267.

instantly

instantly hanged; and he refused to take any A. D.  
refreshment until the execution was over.<sup>1</sup> <sup>1212.</sup> 13th of  
The most cruel of the Roman tyrants, those  
John.

scourges of the human race, had surely, at  
this instant, infused his infernal spirit into  
the soul of the English monarch. These  
innocent victims,<sup>2</sup> delivered up to John at  
the late peace, were all of them very young,  
and allied to the most distinguished families  
in Wales.<sup>3</sup> This tragedy being finished, while  
he was yet at table, meditating vengeance on  
the Welsh, he received two letters; one of  
which was from the king of Scotland, and  
the other was from his daughter,<sup>4</sup> the wife of  
prince Llewelyn. These letters, though pro-  
ceeding from different quarters, conveyed  
to him the same alarming intelligence, that

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time Robert Vepont hanged Rhys the son  
of Maelgwyn, a child not seven years old, at Shrewsbury.  
Welsh Chron. p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Annales Margan, p. 15. Holinshead, p. 176. Welsh  
Chron. p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 267.

a dangerous



a dangerous conspiracy was forming against his life. This information threw the English monarch into the deepest dismay; he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, where he continued a fortnight in a fuller and gloomy solitude; scarcely any person whatever being admitted into his presence. Having made no farther discovery in the affair, time at length dispersed his fears; and persisting in the design of subduing the Welsh, he advanced to Chester. He once more received in that city, from the princess his daughter, intimations of the same dangerous import; that if he advanced any farther, his ruin was inevitable; as he would certainly be either murdered by the nobility in his own army, or be betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The king's firmness, and his desire of revenge, gave way to these repeated alarms; fear and distrust took possession of his mind; and hearing, at the same time, that the Pope had dissolved the allegiance of his

his subjects, he dismissed his army on a sudden, and returned to London :

THE animosity which is natural to men, who had just broken asunder their fetters, and who were eager to recover their liberty, was heightened still more by the spirit of enthusiasm. The Welsh had not only been released from the oaths which they had taken to John, but the Pope had likewise denounced his bitterest curses, if they did not, under the banners of the church, rise up to fulfil its vengeance ; by attempting the utter destruction of a prince who had presumed to contemn his authority. Influenced by these powerful motives, the inhabitants of the inland country, which at the late peace had been ceded to John, acknowledged the sovereignty of Llewelyn.<sup>2</sup> He soon after ob-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 194. Brady's Hist. England, p. 482. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 173. Thomas Wykes, p. 37. Holinshed, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Annales Waverleienfis, p. 174. Welsh Chron. p. 268, 70.

tained

tained possession of the castles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan; places of great importance

A. D. on the frontier of his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Thus were the English, by a sudden turn in affairs, entirely driven out of North Wales.<sup>2</sup> The dissensions, at this time, prevailing in England, favoured the generous designs of Llewelyn. But that prince, instead of checking the current of his fortunes, took advantage of the tide which was flowing in his favour; and pressing forwards with an eager spirit after glory, extended the circle of his conquests, and added fresh reputation to his arms.

THE barons of England, having renounced their allegiance to king John, on his refusal to confirm their constitutional rights, entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn prince of Wales.<sup>3</sup> It seems, as if this alliance had

<sup>1</sup> Annales Waverleienfis, p. 174. Welsh Chron. p. 268, 270.

<sup>2</sup> Annales Margan, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 270. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 180, given

given great alarm to the English monarch, as he sent an order to Llewelyn to meet his commissioners at Griffin's Cross; that the Welsh prince might confer with them on matters of importance, which related to his honour and his interests.<sup>1</sup> With a versatility of conduct, which insulted the common sense of mankind, the Pope, at this time, excommunicated Llewelyn and all his adherents; for having made war upon a prince,<sup>2</sup> recently the object of his vengeance, but who of late had been admitted into the bosom of the church; a privilege he had meanly purchased by concessions, degrading to the dignity of princes, as well as injurious to the rights of his people, and the imperial crown of his ancestors. In defiance of this anathema, Llewelyn made an incursion into Powys, and, with much ease, gained possession of the town and castle of Shrewsbury; no longer intimidated by censures so scan-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Annales Waverleienfis, p. 182. Welsh Chron. p. 271.



dalously prostituted, nor by oaths of allegiance from which he had been lately absolved.

A. D.  
1215.

ON his return into his own dominions, and in order to strengthen the interest of his family by a powerful alliance, Llewelyn gave his daughter in marriage to Reginald de Bruce, an English lord of great eminence, in South Wales.\*

SINKING under the censures of the Church, Giles de Bruce, an English baron, deserted the confederacy, and made his peace with the English king. Llewelyn, firm to his engagements, and active in support of the common cause, instead of shrinking from the danger, invested with a considerable force the castle of Caermarthen; which, after a resistance of five days, he made himself master of, and levelled with the ground. The same fate attended the fortresses of Llanstephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. To keep alive the

\* Welsh Chron. p. 273.

spirit of his troops, he marched into the district of Caerdigan, and gained the castles of Emlyn, Cemaes, and Newport; then closing the campaign by the reduction of the castles of Caerdigan and Cilgerran, he returned into his own dominions. In this expedition, he was attended by all the confederate chieftains, whose attachment to his interests he had hitherto secured, by the vigour and wisdom of his conduct.

THE late fortunate campaign having given to the Welsh prince a great part of South Wales, he came again into that country as the lord paramount; to arbitrate some disputes which had arisen in the family of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd. Having adjusted the A. D. 1216. several claims by a division of the country in dispute, as he was returning into his own dominions, he received intelligence that Gwenwynwyn, the lord of the higher Powys,

Welsh Chron. p. 273; Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 26.

had renounced his allegiance, and was again become a vassal to the English king. This information gave Llewelyn the greatest uneasiness; he saw the evil that would arise, if a chieftain of such influence and power, should, at a juncture like this, desert the confederacy; when fortune had hitherto so happily favoured the united exertion of their arms. Desirous, by the mildest means, of drawing him back to a sense of his honour and duty, Llewelyn sent to him several bishops and abbots to remonstrate on the nature of his conduct. The prelates pointed to the oaths he had violated, shewed him the very deed subscribed by himself, and which he had given as a pledge of his fidelity; the clemency also of the prince he had offended, and the danger of exposing to the resentment of Llewelyn the hostages which were left in his hands. These considerations were urged in vain. Gwenwynwyn was obstinate, and would listen to no terms of reconciliation.

That

That his justice, then, might punish the delinquency of a vassal, whom his mildness had not been able to reclaim, Llewelyn instantly invaded Powys, laid waste with fire and sword the territories of that chieftain, and obliged him to fly for protection into the dominions of the earl of Chester.'

THE confederacy, of late, had received a sanction and a strength, by the accession to their party of Lewis the Dauphin of France. Despair, and the dread of a tyrant, had suggested the wretched alternative, and had hurried on the dangerous expedient. Unable to resist the malecontent barons, increasing both in power and importance, the English king retreated to Hereford; and from thence, sent to solicit the aid and protection of Reginald de Bruce, and of his son in law the prince of Wales. Neither ties of affinity, nor the emotions of pity, had, however, any

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron., p. 274.



influence on the conduct of Llewelyn. On just principles of policy, he rejected the solicitations of the unfortunate monarch. Experience, and the strength of his mind would inform him, that no confidence ought to be placed in a prince so weak and capricious; that the ascendancy which his arms had lately obtained over England, was principally owing to the distracted state of that kingdom; and that it was his duty, as the guardian of the public weal, to foment its dissensions; the liberties and even the safety of his own country depending upon the weakness, or intestine divisions of the English.

RESENTING this conduct in the Welsh prince, John demolished the castles of Radnor and Hay; after which, proceeding farther into the marches, he set fire to the town of Oswestry.\* But, in a little time after, disgrace and misfortunes still pursuing his con-

\* Welsh Chron. p. 275.

duct;

duct; a victim to fatigue, to sickness and a broken spirit, this weak and miserable prince ended his days. His son, Henry the third, A. D. 1217. yet an infant, succeeded to the crown of England.

ON his accession to the throne, Reginald de Bruce, who had lately married Llewelyn's daughter, returned to the allegiance which he owed to the English monarch; deserting in a moment of caprice the solemn engagements which he had made to the prince of Wales. It seems in these miserable ages, as if oaths, and the other sacred ties of society, had lost all their power of binding the conscience.

RESENTING the defection of such a powerful baron, so closely united to his family, Llewelyn made an incursion into the territory belonging to Bruce; and invested Brecknock\* its principal town. But the inhabi-

\* *Aberhonddu.*

tants, imploring his mercy, he consented to raise the siege, on condition of receiving five hostages, and one hundred marks. Pursuing his march towards Gwyr, and, passing over the black mountains in Glamorgan, he had the misfortune to lose many of his carriages. While his army lay encamped at Llangruc, Reginald de Bruce came, attended by six knights, to implore the clemency of his father; a favour which he easily obtained; being not only received in the mildest manner, but having also a fortress delivered up to him, as an additional proof of that prince's confidence. Having regulated the affairs of that province, Llewelyn continued his route into Pembroke; and at Cevn Cynwarchan, he received proposals of peace from the Flemings who were settled in the country. He, at first, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation; and part of his army having passed the river Cledheu in order to attack the Flemings, the bishop of St. David, attended by his clergy, repaired to the prince

of

of Wales; in hopes that his own solicitations, and the influence of religion, might soften his resentment. The intercession of the bishop, at length, prevailed; and a peace was concluded, on the conditions, that the inhabitants of Rhos and Pembroke should be subject to the prince of North Wales; and, as their liege lord, should hold of him their estates, under the duties of homage and fealty; that they should pay him one thousand marks towards defraying the charges of the war, and should likewise deliver up twenty hostages, of the first note in their country, as a pledge of their future fidelity.\* By the activity of his spirit and the vigour of his conduct, Llewelyn had made himself almost the entire master of Wales. And, as neither ferocity nor injustice had directed his arms, he returned from the late campaigns, encircled with more solid glory than could be derived from conquests, which are only il-

\* Welsh Chron. p. 278.



lustrious from the wide sweep their ravages have taken.

THE ardour had subsided, with which the English barons had at first engaged in the cause of Lewis the Dauphin of France. The duplicity of his character, and the insolence of his spirit, had rendered him the object of distrust and of hatred. The great talents of the earl of Pembroke seized the fortunate moment. Guided by sentiments of the purest patriotism, he drew back to their allegiance the revolted barons; and settled the distracted state of the kingdom on principles the most humane, liberal, and wise. In this treaty, equally with the king of Scotland, Llewelyn was included; on condition that he should restore all the places which he had seized during the war.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable, on this occasion, that the prince of Wales received a summons to re-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

pair with the chief of his nobility to Hereford; as an order was sent to Hugh Mortimer, that provided Llewelyn came to that city, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, he should escort him to Northampton; where he and his attendants were to do homage to the king.<sup>1</sup> It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any regard to this summons; as at this time, the earl of Pembroke, by force of arms, took possession of the city of Caer Lleon;<sup>2</sup> and in the follow-

ing year, the Welsh prince received a similar order to appear before the king at Gloucester, there to perform his homage, in presence of the council and of the Pope's legate. To this summons Llewelyn thought proper to pay obedience. Being absolved by the legate, he ratified by oath the conditions of the treaty; promising to restore, with their respective territories, the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan; as well as all other

A. D.

1218.

1st of  
Hen. III.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 278.

lands

lands and fortresses which had been taken during the war from Henry's vassals in South Wales. Under the like solemn engagements, he promised, by every means in his power, that all the nobility in Wales should do homage to Henry, as to their liege lord; that none of his enemies should be allowed protection in Wales; and that, whatever injuries the king might receive, he would revenge them as if they had been done to himself.

IN so prosperous a state of his affairs, we are at a loss to account for a change, so sudden, in the conduct of Llewelyn. The wisdom and vigour of Pembroke's administration, or the dread of spiritual anathemas, acting upon his own superstition, or on that of his people, might have shaken, at length, the firmness of his mind. If we consider his conduct, as only derogating from the dignity of an independent sovereign, the idea of

\* Rymer, vol. I. p. 225.

honour is lost in the nature and habits of feudal government. Even the king of Scotland, the year before, had performed the same duty at Northampton. But the homage which was paid by that prince, was due by mutual agreement, for the fiefs he possessed in England; whereas the duties imposed upon Llewelyn, had been extorted, at various times, without any equivalent. As it is *opinion* alone that gives dignity to princes and energy to government, these claims of the English, assuming a royal jurisdiction over Wales, and rising every day into pre-*sent*, were highly dangerous to its freedom, and were eventually the means of sapping the foundation of its power. A tacit acquiescence in claims successively made, in length of time constitutes a right. The habit of seeing the Welsh princes, passing as vassals through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, could naturally produce, in the minds of the English, contemptuous ideas of an enemy, whom hitherto they had only heard of at a distance.



distance, or had seen spreading terror and conflagration through the frontiers of their country. The Welsh, too, must lose much of that veneration which they themselves had been accustomed to feel for their princes when, instead of seeing them at the head of armies, asserting the public freedom, they saw them, on every call which pride or policy suggested, deserting the dignity of their stations; and like obsequious vassals falling at the feet of a fastidious monarch, the hereditary foe of their nation. In the habit of considering their country as a feeble of the crown of England, a fond attachment to its interests, a sense of national glory, and all manly ideas of patriotism, would lose their energy and force, and would sink at length into a cold indifference to its fate. Having neither empire nor freedom to contend for, their valour and their mountains would be equally useless, and no longer fed from its parent source, their native spirit eager for liberty, and impatient of control

would

would naturally subside into a tame and hereditary submission.

IN consequence of these important concessions, the king sent to acquaint Llewelyn, that several of the Welsh nobility had paid their homage; and enjoined him to give them possession of their estates; he likewise required that the remaining chieftains should be sent to perform their stipulated duties.\* Agreeably to this injunction, Llewelyn sent A. D. 1219. Rhys ap Gryffyth, an eminent chieftain in Hen. III. South Wales, to do homage to Henry. But, with an inconsistency of conduct, accounted for only by the levity of the times, he placed new levies of soldiers in the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, instead of delivering them up in conformity to his late engagements.† With a view of extending his interest still farther among the English nobility, Llewelyn gave one of his daughters in

\* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 217.

† Welsh Chron. p. 279.

marriage

marriage to John de Bruce, a powerful baron.<sup>1</sup> And some time after, he likewise married another of his daughters to a Scottish lord, who was nephew and heir to the earl of Chester.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1219.

THE Flemings having seized by force on the castle of Caerdigan, Llewelyn marched into that country; and regaining possession of it, he razed the fortress, and put the garrison to the sword. Advancing into the territory of Gwys in Pembroke, and, likewise, destroying that castle, he set fire to the town; then, penetrating farther, he continued his ravages into the country adjoining to Milford Haven;<sup>3</sup> and as far as the castle of Haverfordwest.<sup>4</sup>

A. D.  
1220.

In consequence of this inroad, Henry dispatched a letter to Llewelyn, complaining

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> The cantreys of Rhos and Daugledheu, or two sword-

<sup>4</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 279.

of the late violation of the peace, of his neglect to appear at Oxford, and afterwards in London, agreeably to the different summonses which he had received; enjoining him, at the same time, to repair to Worcester on a certain day, to answer the charges which might be brought against him.\* The prince of Wales did not pay obedience to this summons. Instead of obeying the mandate, he laid siege to the castle of Buellt, the property of Reginald de Bruce, who sending to the king intelligence of his danger, that prince came to his relief.<sup>2</sup> Llewelyn, seeing his forces inferior to the English, raised the siege. The king, then, on his return towards the A. D. 1221. marches, rebuilt the castle of Montgomery,<sup>5th of Hen. III.</sup> in a situation which he thought impregnable; and as a check to the incursions of the Welsh.<sup>3</sup>

AMIDST the anxieties which attended Llewelyn in his public situation, his private

\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, p. 261. *Welsh Chron.* p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 262.



peace was embittered by the turbulent spirit of his eldest son Gryffydd. That young

A. D. prince had seized on the Cantrev of Meirionyd; and affected to hold it independently

1223.

of his father's authority. Not of a temper tamely to bear such an insult, the prince of Wales commanded his son to appear before him. Gryffydd refused to obey his commands. Resenting this undutiful demeanour, Llewelyn swore that he would take ample vengeance on his son, and on all his adherents for the dishonour which they had thrown upon his character as a sovereign and father; and with this design, he marched considerable force into Meirionyd. Gryffydd, determining to abide the issue of arms, raised his followers, and met Llewelyn in the field. But during the action which ensued an accommodation took place; and the son yielding himself up to the mercy of his father and imploring his forgiveness, was received into favour. But though Llewelyn, amidst the conflict of arms, indulging the tender

feeling

feelings of a parent, had thought proper to pardon his son, he did not entirely forget the offence; but with a just severity, deprived him of that district, which had been the cause of so flagrant a failure in his duty.\*

UNDER the influence of chagrin, respecting a division of property, Rhys, the son of the late Gryffyth ap Rhys, joined the party of the earl of Pembroke; who, at this time, was in arms against the Welsh. To punish the defection of his vassal, though he had been lately sent to do homage in the court of England, Llewelyn took possession of the castle of Aberystwyth and all its dependencies. The Welsh chieftain, upon this, repaired to Henry, to complain of the injury, and to solicit his protection. The English king commanded Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewsbury; and that prince obeying his order, the dispute was amicably settled.†

\* Welsh Chron. p. 280.

† Ibid. p. 281, 282.

In the absence of the earl of Pembroke, at this time in Ireland, the prince of Wales laid waste his territories, and took two of his castles; and then, with a savage spirit, cutting off the heads of the soldiers he had found in these fortresses, and placing garrisons in them out of his own army, he made good his retreat.\* In order to chastise Llewelyn for this cruel transaction, Henry came with an army into the marches; but, without performing any military exploit, he soon returned into England; the earl of Chester having interceded in behalf of the Welsh prince, and having engaged for him that he should, by a certain day, make full restitution for the injuries he had committed. But Llewelyn seeing the danger had passed over, was not very attentive to fulfil the engagement.<sup>2</sup>

\* Chr. Thos. Wykes, p. 41. *Chronica Walteri Hemingford*, p. 564. Matth. Westm. p. 86. Matth. Paris, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica Walteri Hemingford*, p. 564.

THE earl of Pembroke, hearing of the ravages committed on his territories, landed with a strong body of forces at the city of St. David; and having recovered the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, he retaliated on the Welsh garrisons the like cruel treatment which his own soldiers had lately received from Llewelyn.<sup>1</sup> To preserve his dominions in South Wales, which his enemies were destroying with terrible devastations, the Welsh prince sent his eldest son Gryffydd with an army of nine thousand men. Having advanced to Cydweli, intimations were given to the young prince, that the inhabitants intended to betray him to the enemy; upon which, in resentment of their perfidy, he laid the town and all the churches in ashes.<sup>2</sup> The earl of Pembroke then passed the Towi at Caermarthen, and an action immediately

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 282. Matth. Paris says, that the earl marshal, in the course of this campaign, slew and took prisoners nine thousand men. P. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 282.

E 3                      ensued,



ensued. It was fought with great valour and with doubtful success; but in the evening each party retired from the field of battle, the river forming a line between the two armies. In this situation, they lay several days opposite to each other; at length the Welsh prince, in want of provisions, was obliged to break up his camp, and to return into North Wales.\*

THE earl of Pembroke proceeding to Cilgerran, began to erect a fortress; but receiving an order from Henry to come up directly to court, he left the work to be completed by his soldiers.† At the same time summons was sent to Llewelyn, that he should appear before the king at Shrewsbury, attended by his wife, his son Gryffydd, and the chief of his nobility; the English prince expecting that by the force of his authority alone he should be able to terminate the

\* Welsh Chron. p. 282.

† Welsh Chron. p. 282.

dispute.<sup>1</sup> A truce however was only obtained; and each party, intending to renew hostilities, returned to their respective territories. The design of the earl of Pembroke, who had been joined by the forces of other English lords, of marching into Pembroke, was A. D. 1225. defeated by the rapid movements of Llewelyn; who dispatched his son Gryffydd to take possession of the pass at Carnwyllion, whilst he himself took post at Mabedryd. The openings into the country being thus obstructed, the earl of Pembroke retired into England, and the prince of Wales into his own dominions.<sup>2</sup> The archbishop of York, on this occasion, excommunicated Llewelyn; and his dominions were laid under an interdict, until he had made satisfaction to king Henry; which if not performed within six months, his subjects were then to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance.<sup>3</sup>

Few incidents worthy of notice occur, for some years, in the history of these times. A

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. I. p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 283.     <sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 282.

A. D. 1228.  
12th of  
Hen. III.

trivial circumstance produced an event of some national importance. The soldiers belonging to the castle of Montgomery, assisted by the natives of the country, attempted to open a road through an adjoining forest, a deep and extensive cover of fifteen miles in length, which had long afforded to the Welsh a secure retreat; and who issuing from thence, frequently pillaged and murdered the passengers. While the workmen were thus employed in cutting down the woods, they were suddenly attacked by a body of the Welsh, who, with great slaughter, obliged them to fly into the castle; which they invested, and laid siege to in a regular manner. In this extremity, the garrison sent into England for assistance; and Henry, attended by Hubert de Burgh, on whom the castle of Montgomery had been lately conferred, came to its relief with all possible dispatch. On the approach of the English king the Welsh raised the siege.\* Having received a reinforcement

\* Matth. Paris, p. 295.

ment, Henry ventured to penetrate the recesses of the forest. With infinite difficulty he opened a passage for his army, by setting fire to the woods; and at length arrived at a solitary place called Cridia, of the Carmelite order, an abbey belonging to the white friars. Having been informed that this religious house had been used by the Welsh as a place of retreat, he laid it in ashes; and its situation being judged impregnable, Hubert de Burgh, with the king's consent, laid the foundation of a castle.\*

In the middle of a deep forest, in an enemy's country, and surrounded by their flying parties, the situation of the English monarch was exceedingly perilous. Three months did Henry employ his whole army, and expose it to various dangers, in attempting to build an insignificant fortress. In the course of which time, the Welsh, watching every movement, intercepted his convoys, and

\* Matth. Paris, p. 295.

fire-



frequently cut in pieces his foraging parties. William de Bruce, whose ferocious manners we have often recited, having been sent into the country in search of provisions, was taken by Llewelyn and thrown into prison. Provisions at length grew exceedingly scarce. To heighten his distress, Henry, too, had much cause to fear that treason had pervaded his camp; as several of the English lords in the interest of Llewelyn, had sent that prince intelligence of each occurrence, and had assisted him, to the utmost of their power, in obstructing and defeating the enterprise. In a situation so critical, the pride and resolution of Henry gave way to a sense of danger. He found it expedient to give over his design, and to conclude a peace with Llewelyn; on the condition, of levelling with the ground the castle he had lately finished; in the building of which he had wasted so much time, and treasure, as well as the blood of his subjects. The prince of Wales on his part, agreed to pay Henry three thousand marks,

marks, towards defraying the charges of the war;<sup>1</sup> and also that the right owner of this territory should hold it as a fief of the crown of England.<sup>2</sup> He also made his appearance in the English camp, to pay his respects to king Henry; but in no measure on the footing of a subordinate prince to do him homage.<sup>3</sup> In this manner ended the campaign, inglorious, it is true, to the English monarch, yet reflecting little lustre on the military talents of Llewelyn; who surely might have obtained better terms from an enemy, surrounded with difficulties, and entangled like a lion in the toils.

To inure still more the Welsh to ideas of vassalage, Henry sent a safe conduct to his nephew to repair to his court; where David the second son of Llewelyn received a pension A. D. 1229. of forty pounds a year, until a better pro-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. of Westminster, p. 94. Holinshed, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 284.

visien

vision could be given him; having first done homage, and sworn to hold his reverend dignity as a fief under the crown of England. The little value of the bribe, compared with the object, is a proof, that at this period scarcely an idea of dishonour was annexed to vassalage.

LLEWELYN had yet another blow to sustain which was an injury of all others the most poignant. William de Bruce, taken prisoner at the affair of Montgomery, on paying ransom \* of three thousand marks, had been released from his captivity the following year. He soon after, by surprise, fell again into the same situation; and, as it is said, having been discovered in carrying on an amour with the Welsh princess, the sister of Henry and the wife of Llewelyn, he suffered a

\* Rymer, p. 311.

\* Welsh Chron. recites, that he offered the cantref Buellt, besides a large sum of money. Page. 284.

ignominious death by the command of the A. D. 1230.  
injured husband.' Whether the crime for which he suffered was real, or only imputed to him as a pretext for vengeance; his fate, however, was justly due to the tenor of a life, deeply tinged by perfidy, and marked by the bloody traces of a spirit the most cruel and ferocious.

To account, it is probable, for the late transaction, three of the Welsh clergy were sent by Llewelyn, under a safe conduct into England. The prince of Wales, himself, received a summons to appear before the king at Shrewsbury;<sup>1</sup> who seemed to resent the murder of the English lord, or the stroke of justice which had lately taken place. Instead of obeying this order, Llewelyn led an army

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 97, says, with other English writers, that he was put to death without reason. Henry de Knighton de Event. Angl. p. 2431. Chron. Walteri Hemingford, p. 572. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 193. Pol. Virgil, p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 310. Holinshed, p. 213.



into the marches ; and, still pursuing his revenge, laid waste the territory lately belonging to Bruce;<sup>1</sup> and then, with the same fury continuing his progress, no place scarcely upon the English Borders was left free from his devastations.<sup>2</sup>

To check these ravages, Henry came with great celerity into the confines of Wales. On the king's approach, Llewelyn retired to the mountains. Finding his presence no longer necessary, the English prince left Hubert de Burgh, with a detachment of his army, to preserve the peace of the Borders. A different body of the Welsh, hearing that the king had retired, made an incursion into the land adjoining to the castle of Montgomery. On the return of this party, the

<sup>1</sup> He was lord of Brecknock in South Wales, and of Pembre in Suffex. See Edward Lhuyd's MSS. in collection of Sir John Seabright.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 317. Math. Paris, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Math. Paris, p. 310.

English, having taken possession of a post which cut off their retreat, suddenly attacked the Welsh; and putting to the sword the greater part of their numbers, the remainder were brought into the castle as prisoners.

The captives were instantly beheaded at the command of Hubert de Burgh the justiciary; and the heads of these unfortunate men

were sent as a present to king Henry.<sup>1</sup> The A. D. 1231.  
Welsh already began to taste the bitter fruits<sup>15th of</sup> Hen. III.

which they themselves had produced, by a voluntary surrender of their rights; and, indeed, by tamely submitting to be considered as the vassals of a foreign prince, they gave some colour of justice to the cruel spirit of their enemies.

It was not in the nature of the times to enter into subtle distinctions, or into a cool discussion of rights, which the timidity or weakness of the Welsh princes had often brought into controversy; it was more suited

<sup>1</sup> Math. Paris, p. 310. Polidore Virgil, p. 300.

to

to the feelings of men, warm, irascible, and vindictive, to determine their merits, or to punish their infringement, by the most prompt decision of arms.

LLEWELYN, having heard of the outrage lately committed on his subjects, again laid waste the English Borders. Besides other acts of ferocity, which in this incursion marked his progress, some ladies of distinction, venerable for their years, and vigils of a tender age, having taken sanctuary in one of the churches which was set on fire, perished in the flames, the indiscriminate victims of his fury. In the general confusion Hubert de Burgh fled into England. The prince of Wales, bearing down all opposition, took by assault the castle of Montgomery, the scene of the late transaction, and, making himself master of the different fortresses of Radnor, Brecknock,\* and Rhaiadrwgwy, he invested Caer Lleon. After

\* Math. Paris, p. 310.

\* *Aberhonddu.*

sustaining considerable loss in attempting in vain to reduce the castle, that city was taken; and, with the church, reduced to ashes. The same fate attended the castles of Neth\* and Cydweli. And, with a barbarity disgraceful to Llewelyn, the soldiers who had defended these fortresses, all perished in the flames.<sup>1</sup>

THIS outrage, or act of retaliative justice, being reported to king Henry, he applied to the Pope for his spiritual aid; and that Pontiff, ever fond of weaving his own interests into the concerns of temporal princes, excommunicated Llewelyn, and all his adherents.<sup>2</sup> Henry, also, commanded his vassals in Ireland, to co-operate with his arms in the enterprise which he had formed against Wales; offering them at the same time the alluring reward of possessing such estates as they might

<sup>1</sup> Annales Margan, p. 18. Welsh Chron. p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> In Glamorganshire. \* Math. Paris, p. 310.



by their swords obtain from the Welsh. He convened at Oxford, an assembly of his military tenants, and the principal clergy in his kingdom; and drawing from thence an army of considerable force, he marched to Hereford.\*

A. D.  
1231.

THE army of Llewelyn was, at this time, encamped in a meadow, at a little distance from the castle of Montgomery, lately recovered by the English; in a part of which field was a morass. Near to this place was an abbey called Cymer, of the *Cistercian order*. A friar of this house, was directed by the Welsh prince, to convey, if possible, false intelligence to the garrison. The soldier in the castle, seeing the friar passing with that design under the walls, entered into conversation with him, and seemed desirous of being informed of Llewelyn's situation. He told them, that the prince of Wales lay encamped in a certain meadow at no great

\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. I. p. 318.

\* M. Paris, p. 318.  
distance.

distance, attended only by a small body of men, waiting for a reinforcement; and that he had broken down a bridge, which kept the communication open, for fear of a sudden attack. They inquired then if a body of horse could safely pass the morass, the bridge being demolished; he told them, that they might not only pass with security, but might also defeat their enemies, or put them to flight, with an inconsiderable force. Being thus informed, a party of the garrison sallied out on horseback. Their approach being perceived, the Welsh, seemingly with great precipitation, retreated into a wood. This apparent flight animated the English to pursue them with eagerness; and deceived by their intelligence, the advanced party plunged deep into the morass; many of which were, in an instant, either suffocated or drowned. The Welsh, at this moment, perceiving their disorder, rushed out of the wood, and with their spears easily put to death the remainder; who, encumbered with their

their horses and armour, and entangled in the morass, were incapable of making any defence.<sup>1</sup> This disaster accelerated the approach of the English army; and as it passed by the abbey, king Henry, in resentment of the friar's treachery, set fire to the *grange* or farm; and proceeding to do the same by the monastery itself, the abbot saved it from destruction, by paying as a ransom three hundred marks. Having no other employment for his army, he rebuilt with stone the castle of Matilda; which had in former wars been demolished by the Welsh.<sup>2</sup> In this manner ended a campaign, which, considering the mighty engines employed, seemed to menace this ancient people with inevitable ruin.

In the mean time, Llewelyn thought proper to consent to a short truce;<sup>3</sup> on terms

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585, built by Matilda wife to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock. Matth. Paris, p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 319. Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 55.

of reciprocal advantage, and, in some measure, on the footing of independent states.

SOME infractions of the peace having been made on the part of the English, Llewelyn sent complaints to king Henry, that no satisfaction had been given him, though he himself had been willing to make reparation for any injury done by his subjects. Henry, in return, acquainted the Welsh prince, that his own avocations at present, did not allow him to attend to his complaints; but that he would in a season of more leisure come into the marches, and there render him full restitution for any injuries which he might have sustained.<sup>1</sup> A conference having been agreed on by the two princes, Llewelyn, under a safe conduct, came to Shrewsbury.<sup>2</sup> At this A. D. meeting, the commissioners, appointed by <sup>1233.</sup> 17th of either party, agreed to the following stipulations, which were immediately ratified by Henry. That a mutual restitution should

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 325.



take place of such estates which had been obtained in the course of the war : That the commissioners should fix the value of the damage, and determine by whom the reparation was to be made : That if any new matter of complaint should arise during the truce, the point in dispute should be finally decided by the commissioners ; each prince engaging to abide by their award. In this treaty, Llewelyn was obliged to renew his homage, and to give security for preserving the peace of the English realm.\*

A. D.  
1233.

THE violent conduct of Henry and his ministers had at length driven many of the English barons into open revolt. Of the most considerable note were the lord Pembroke earl mareschal, Gilbert Basset and his brothers, Richard Siward, and Walter de Clifford. These lords, withdrawing from the danger which threatened them, retired into Wales ; and entered into a firm league

\* Rymer, p. 327.

with

with Llewelyn; engaging each other, by the most solemn ties, not to form any treaty, or conclude a peace, but with the common consent of the confederacy.<sup>1</sup> Alarmed at this revolt, rendered formidable by an union with the Welsh prince, Henry convened his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester.<sup>2</sup>

In the mean time, the confederates laid desolate the marches, conveying away the cattle and other provisions.<sup>3</sup> They likewise received an accession of strength on being joined by Hubert de Burgh \* the justiciary of England; who, having been persecuted to the utmost peril of his life, had escaped out of prison, and fled into Wales.<sup>4</sup> Henry ad-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 326. Polidore Virgil, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 326.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 328.

\* Among other frivolous crimes objected against this minister, he was accused of purloining from the royal treasury a gem, which had the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable, and of sending this valuable curiosity to the prince of Wales. Matth. Paris, 259.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 328.

vanced into the enemies territories, as far as Hereford; but finding that country entirely laid waste, and fearing lest his army might perish for want of necessary sustenance, he made good his retreat, and remained some days in the castle of Grosmont. The English army, which lay encamped in the open field, was attacked in the night by the earl marshal; who, finding no discipline in the camp, easily surprised it; taking, besides other plunder, five hundred horses, and obliging the confused and terrified soldiers to fly with precipitation within the walls of that castle. He had likewise the good fortune to take possession of the money, provisions, carriages, and other furniture belonging to the king's army. Pembroke, in this critical moment, did not pursue his success. He gave an exalted proof of moderation and duty. Out of respect to his sovereign, confined in the castle, he offered no further hostilities; but retired before break of day to a secure situation, enriched with the spoils

of the English camp. Many of Henry's courtiers, having lost their military equipments, left the army on this disaster, and returned into England. The king himself, amazed, ashamed, and confounded at this sudden and disgraceful blow, having first reinforced with foreign soldiers all his castles upon the English confine, retreated to Gloucester; in which city he passed the Christmas holidays, in hopes that his presence upon A. D. <sup>1233-</sup> the Borders might be a means of keeping the <sup>17th of</sup> Hen. III. malecontents in awe.\*

THE active spirit of the earl marshal, no longer restrained by Henry's presence, formed the design of laying siege to Monmouth. Baldwin de Guines, a knight of great valour, and a native of Flanders, was then in the town; having been left by Henry with a strong body of foreign troops\* to protect the marches. Seeing the earl of Pem-

\* Matth. Paris, p. 328. Polidore Virgil, p. 301.

\* From Flanders and Poitou.

broke



broke deeply engaged in reconnoitering the walls, attended only by one hundred knights, he sallied out of the castle at the head of a considerable part of the garrison. Pembroke had time to retire; but his high courage disdained to avoid the danger. A terrible conflict ensued; and though the earl marshal exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and prowess, yet such was the superior number of the enemy, that he was very near being carried off prisoner; if at that instant, Baldwin de Guisnes had not himself received a wound; which being deemed mortal, the attention of his troops was diverted to the safety of their general, and gave an opportunity to the confederate army to come to the relief of the marshal. Nothing decisive taking place, the earl of Pembroke invested Caermarthen; but the town being gallantly defended, he lay three months before it, being incapable of making any impression; and at length, a supply of pro-

\* Matth. Paris, p. 329.

visions, and a reinforcement, being thrown into the place by sea, he was obliged to raise the siege.<sup>1</sup>

To divert the enemy's attention, during these operations, Llewelyn made an inroad into the country of Brecknock, destroying all the towns and fortresses belonging to that territory; he then invested the castle of that name, and lay before it a month; but, all his efforts proving fruitless, he raised the siege; and, setting fire to the town, pursued his route into the marches. In the course of which, conflagration and ruin still marking his progress, he burned the town of Clun, demolished Redde castle in Powys, and laid Oswestry in ashes.<sup>2</sup> It seems, as if a treaty of peace had been in agitation during the late transactions; as Henry, in a letter to Llewelyn, complained that his commissioners, agreeably to appointment, had repaired to Colewent, but had not there met the deputies

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 288.

out

out of Wales. In answer to which, Llewelyn informed the English king, that his commissioners had been prevented from coming to that place, by the floods and by other impediments; declaring in the mean time that he himself would preserve the peace of the Borders, and requiring that Henry on his part should perform the same.\* It is somewhat extraordinary, that a negotiation of so mild a nature should be carried on amidst the shock of arms, and under the irritation of deep and reiterated injuries.

A. D.  
1233.

To oppose a confederacy, rising into importance by the daily accession of the English nobility, John lord of Monmouth, distinguished for his valour and military talents, was appointed warden of the marches. That he might open the campaign with credit in his arms, he entered the confines of Wales with a considerable body of foreigners; in hopes that by a sudden and vigorous im-

A. D.  
1234.

\* Rymer, vol. I. p. 328, 329.

pression he might surprise the earl mareschal; or that, by taking him off, he might strike at the root of the revolt. He so directed his operations, as to be enabled, as he thought, to assail his enemies during the silence and darkness of the night. The spies of the earl of Pembroke, having given him intelligence, that the royal army was on its march to surprise him, that general laid an ambuscade to counteract the design; by posting his troops under the cover of a wood, adjoining to a road which the enemy were obliged to pass. In this situation he waited their approach. The English troops under Monmouth, marching, as they thought, in security, and little suspecting a surprise, was beset on a sudden by a part of the earl's forces; who, rushing out of their cover, easily put their enemies to flight, confounded by the darkness of the night, and the loud shouts of their assailants. Numbers were slain on the field; and many flying into the wood, were cut in pieces by the troops which had been stationed there by the mareschal



mareschal to intercept the fugitives. John lord of Monmouth their general, with a few of his attendants, saved themselves by a precipitate flight.<sup>1</sup> Pursuing his success, the earl mareschal made severe reprisals on the estates of the king's foreign counsellors which lay upon the Borders; and with keener animosity, laid waste the lordships which were the property of the lord of Monmouth; destroying several of his houses and villages.<sup>2</sup>

FLUSHED with this success, Llewelyn and the earl mareschal, having united their forces a few months after, made another inroad into the English marches; and having rendered all that country a scene of devastation, they concluded their fiery career by laying part of the town of Shrewsbury in ashes.<sup>3</sup>

DURING the time that the confederates were masters of the field, and had spread

<sup>1</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 301. Matth. Paris, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 332.

horror

horror and conflagration through the Borders A. D. 1234<sup>+</sup> of England, Henry remained at Gloucester, 18<sup>th</sup> of Hen. III. timid and inactive; as though he had been an indifferent spectator of the scene.<sup>1</sup> The prelates, on this occasion, and the few English lords who still preserved their allegiance, urged Henry to accommodate the dispute with the malecontent barons. Instead of listening to this salutary advice, that prince, equally vehement and weak, removed his court to Winchester; declaring that he would make no peace with the earl marshal, unless he came with an halter about his neck, and on his knees before the throne, should acknowledge himself to be a traitor. Pembroke rejected the proposal with disdain.<sup>2</sup>

HENRY'S ministers, in despair of subduing that lord by any other means than by treachery, excited his vassals in Ireland to revolt; under the pretence that all his estates were forfeited to the crown. Informed of

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

the

the machinations of his enemies, the earl of Pembroke passed over into that kingdom, attended only by fifteen knights. In this country, by the perfidy of one of his own vassals, he was taken prisoner in an action after having maintained a long and unequal fight, and having given extraordinary proof of his valour; his horse being hamstrung, and he himself dismounted and wounded in the back. This gallant warrior languished in confinement fourteen days, and at last died by the treachery of an Irish surgeon.

A. D.  
1234.

THE violence in the English administration had risen to a crisis. The prelates of the realm, joined by the temporal lords, being assembled in parliament at Westminster, called loudly upon the king to redress their grievances, and to settle the distracted state of the kingdom.\* Necessity obliging him to

\* Matth. Paris, p. 333, 335, 340.

\* Ad Colloquium ap Westmon.

z Matth. Paris, p. 333. Brady's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 559.

listen to the voice of his people, Henry dismissed his foreign ministers; and dispatched the prelates of Chester, Rochester, and Canterbury, into Wales; to treat with Llewelyn, and the English barons in confederacy with him; the king himself repairing to Gloucester, to be ready to forward their negotiation. The prince of Wales was exceedingly averse to enter into terms of accommodation. To induce that prince to comply with their wishes, the prelates ventured to mingle threats with their other persuasions; by informing him, that if he refused their offers of peace he would certainly draw upon his head the vengeance of the church. To this menace, Llewelyn replied, that he was more influenced by the piety of king Henry, and by the alms which he gave, than by the error of his arms though aided by the whole power of his clergy. He, at length, consented, that a peace should be settled upon

Brady's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 335.

VOL. II.

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the basis of integrity and justice; and, as an essential article of the treaty, he provided that all the English barons, who were confederate with him in the war, should be taken into Henry's favour, and be re-established in their honours and estates. These conditions, however humiliating, were ratified by the English king; who sent letters to the malecontent lords to repair to him at Gloucester; where they received the kiss of peace from Henry as a pledge of his grace, and were likewise reinstated in their rights and inheritances.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, it is probable, to adjust some particulars left unfinished in this treaty, a safe conduct was sent to the deputies of Llewelyn to come into England.<sup>2</sup> With the justice which is due to historical truth, we have frequently censured the character of Llewelyn; it is now with pleasure that we contemplate a conduct which was just and manly, liberal

A. D.  
1234.

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 292. Polidore Virgil, p. 302. Math.

Paris, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, p. 332.

and wife; and which, at the same time that it gave to his country unusual importance, placed him in the rank of the most distinguished of its princes.

THE pleasure which the late event must have afforded Llewelyn, no doubt, dilated his

heart, and softened his feelings in favour of his eldest son Gryffyth; whom, at this time, after six years confinement, he released out of prison. We are not acquainted with the nature of the offence, by which Gryffyth had again incurred his father's displeasure. But there was a rigour interwoven into the destiny of this gallant prince, which discoloured the whole tenor of his life, and has marked him the child of adversity.\*

\* Welsh Chron. p. 292.

\* At this period (A. D. 1236.) died Madoc ap Gryffyth Maelor, lord of the Lower Powys, or Powys Vadoc; he was buried in the abbey of Llan Egwestl, or the Vale of Crucis, near Llangollen in Denbighshire, which he himself had erected; and left a son named Gryffyth to succeed to his territories. Welsh Chron. p. 293.

LLEWELYN having sent complaints to the English king, that the earl of Pembroke had seized a castle belonging to Morgan of Caer Lleon, and had taken his property and wasted his territories; that prince expressed his disapprobation of the injury which had been done to the Welsh chieftain, and appointed impartial persons to arbitrate in the dispute. He had already cited the earl mareschal to appear before his commissioners; and he also summoned the Welsh prince to attend, either in person or by his deputies.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of which, a truce for one year longer took place at Tewksbury, on the following conditions; that full restitution should be made to Morgan of Caer Lleon for the injuries which he had received since the commencement of the late peace; that the subjects of both kingdoms should retain all their rights and estates of which they were then in possession; that on sufficient proof of any injury having been sustained, restitution should be

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, p. 353.

made to either party, the damage not being prior to the truce; that neither of the princes should receive into his protection the subjects belonging to the other; and that no new castle should be erected, or any old one repaired in the marches.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this, a safe conduct was sent by the king to A. D. Llewelyn's commissioners to repair to Shrewsbury, and there to swear to the conditions of the truce; and also to name arbitrators, who were to act on the part of the Welsh prince with the English commissioners; with whom rested the final decision.<sup>2</sup>

THIS year died Joan the wife of prince Llewelyn; and, agreeably to her own desire, was buried upon the sea-shore at Llanvaes in Anglesey. To do honour to her brother the king of England, or as a tender memorial of regard, Llewelyn erected over the grave of his princess a monastery of bare-footed friars;

<sup>1</sup> Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 564. Rymer's Fœdera, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, p. 369.



a testimony of respect to her memory, which renders at least doubtful the criminal part of her conduct; and may, in some degree, take away the stain which history has cast upon her fame.<sup>1</sup>

A. D.  
1237.

THE tranquillity of the times afforded leisure to Llewelyn, having with so much dignity settled his foreign concerns, to pay some attention to the interior government of his own kingdom, by fixing before his death the order of succession. He convened, for this purpose, all the chieftains in Wales to meet him at Strata-Florida;\* where they renewed their oaths of allegiance, and likewise did homage to David, his son by the princess of England, in preference to his eldest brother Gryffydd.<sup>2</sup> So alive was Henry to the dependency of Wales, that he even regarded

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron., p. 293. See note in Hist. of Gwynedd Family, p. 23. \* *Uffrad Eflur*.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron., p. 297. British Ant. Rev., by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

with a jealous eye the late homages, which had been paid to the young prince his nephew; and in consequence he sent him a summons to repair, under a safe conduct, to Worcester. About the same time, the peace was continued for a year longer on principles of reciprocal justice.<sup>1</sup>

A. D.  
1237.

LLEWELYN'S glory, which has appeared with so bright a lustre, resembles the last effort of the vital spirit; which acquiring force in the moment of its extinction, and exerting a transient vigour, is exhausted on a sudden, and sinks into dissolution. Worn out with cares and incessant action, Llewelyn was now grown old, infirm, and paralytic.<sup>2</sup> In this melancholy close, hastened no doubt by his late violent exertions, he seems to have lost the native vigour of his mind; by giving up, in a moment of weakness, the great object for which, during a long reign, he

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. I. p. 372, 373.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 369.

had contended with so much valour and success. The desire of repose, with the eagerness of establishing his favourite son David in the succession, by thus insuring the protection of the English king, were perhaps the motives which influenced his conduct. Whatever his motives were, he gave notice to Henry, that being in years, and desirous of

A. D. 1237.  
21st of  
Hen. III.  
peace, he was willing to put himself under his protection, and to hold his dominions in future as a fief of the English crown; offering at the same time, that whenever the necessities of England should call for assistance, he would be ready to furnish troops, and to give other aids, agreeably to the duties of a vassal.\*

THE bishops of Chester and Hereford were employed, on the part of Henry, in the negotiation of this important concern.† So little of public virtue remained in the coun-

\* Welsh Chron. p. 297.

† Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 567. Matth. Paris, p. 369.

try, that many of the Welsh nobility were desirous of an union with England, although the independency of their nation sunk in the scale. Some nobler spirits rejected the idea with disdain; not inclined to gratify their sovereign's inclination, or to indulge his infirmities, at the expence of the freedom of their country.

The archdeacon of St. Asaph, on the same concern, was employed to negotiate the interests of the prince of Wales. When he arrived at the English court, it appeared, that he was not possessed of instructions or power sufficient to bring to a conclusion so important a business. Upon this occasion, Henry dispatched letters to the lords of the marches, highly complaining of the homages which Llewelyn had caused his son David to receive; and commanding their attendance in Oxford, the truce with Wales being nearly expired.

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 369, Matth. Westm. p. 110.

The



The king likewise sent a letter to the Welsh prince, expressive of resentment for his late conduct in regard to his son; and acquainting him, that if he was desirous of a lasting peace, he should send deputies to meet the council at Oxford; prohibiting him, moreover, under the penalty of forfeiture, from suffering his son to receive any more homage until he had first performed that necessary duty to himself, as his sovereign. So highly alarmed was Henry upon this point, that he wrote to the young prince his nephew, not to presume to receive any more homage until he himself had paid that duty. The negotiation for peace extended no farther than to a continuation of the truce for another year, which was afterwards ratified by Llewelyn.

A. D.  
1238.

TAKING advantage of his father's infirmities, or rendered tyrannical by his favours, David seized on a great part of the territories

\* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 379, 380.

belonging to Gryffyth his brother; leaving him only in possession of the cantrev of Lleyn in the county of Caernarvon. This act of rapacity raised dissensions in the country; as Gryffyth possessed many qualities, which, among a people like the Welsh, were held in high estimation; being brave in war, tall and comely in his person, and, as the eldest son of Llewelyn, was heir apparent to the crown.

To allay the ferment which was produced by this division of interests, the bishop of Bangor proposed a conference between the two princes. In consequence of this mediation, Gryffyth began his journey, with the design of giving his brother the meeting; but though he travelled in the company of that prelate, and under the sanction of his character, he was arrested on the road by David; who confined him in the castle of

<sup>1</sup> British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

Cricieth,

Cricieth, a fortress situated on the verge of the sea in Caernarvonshire.

THE treatment of this popular prince excited the greatest commotion. The adherents of his person and family rose up in arms; resenting the many injuries which had been done by David to his brother, whom they considered as the rightful heir to the crown; and whose spirit, manners and interests were congenial with those of his country. Another party of the Welsh espousing the cause of David, a civil war spread through the country; and in which, native ferocity mingling in the contest and heightening its fury, North Wales, for some time, was deluged with the blood of her own citizens.

A. D. 1240.  
24th of  
Hen. III.

IN this state of affairs, the evening of his days being imbittered by domestic and pub-

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 470.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 118. Polidore Virgil, p. 304. Holinshed, p. 226. Matth. Paris, p. 479.

lic calamity, died Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, after a reign of fifty-six years. He left two children by Tangwystl his first wife, Gryffydd, and a daughter called Glwadys, married to Sir Ralph Mortimer;<sup>1</sup> by his second wife Joan, the princess of England, he had David, who succeeded to his father's dominions.<sup>2</sup> The remains of this prince were interred, with much honour to his memory, in the Abbey of Conway.<sup>3</sup>

A. D.  
1240.

IN taking a survey of the late period, so full of the vicissitudes of fortune, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth appears upon the stage a distinguished character. Possessed of many qualities which are requisite for a warrior, and to form the great prince; we may also discern him, through the glimmering of the times, displaying many of the softer traits of

<sup>1</sup> Memoir of Gwedir Family, p. 24, respecting Gryffydd.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27. and the possession of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd of Caerwys, Flintshire.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 298.

humanity;



humanity; some of those finer springs which constitute in private life, whatever is just, tender, and amiable. But in the characters of men, the most eminent for their talents and their virtues, we shall still meet with shades of human infirmity. The defects of Llewelyn, striking as they were, may be considered as the vices of the age in which he lived, more justly than his own. A few acts of ferocity, with too frequent a violation of treaties, and, at times, a want of firmness in his conduct, may in some degree injure his fame and throw a shade upon his virtues, but cannot deprive him of that solid glory, which is due to a patriot prince; and which he obtained from a grateful people, for asserting the rights of his injured country, through a long life employed in its defence. His talents and his virtues, with the fortunate direction of both, have given to this prince the illustrious title of Llewelyn the Great.

SEVERAL

SEVERAL causes conspired to promote the A. D.  
1240.

succession of David to the throne of North Wales, in preference to Gryffyth his eldest brother. The partiality of Llewelyn to this favourite son, had secured the allegiance of the Welsh nobility; the English king, too, as the uncle of David, would naturally support his cause, rather than that of his brother; a prince of a brave and active disposition, and popular in the country; but what gave the decisive turn in his favour was, that Gryffyth, the rival of his crown, was a prisoner at his mercy, closely confined in a solitary fortress.

WITHIN a month after his accession, David, attended by all the chieftains in Wales, waited on the king at Gloucester; where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the following conditions: That David should surrender his right to the independence

pendency of North Wales, as well as to such territories which had been claimed by several of Henry's vassals, excepting those of Montalto or Mould; and which he was at present to retain agreeably to what had been settled between him and the seneschal of Chester. In order to adjust all matters in dispute which in future might arise, arbitrators on both sides were to be appointed; over whom the Pope's legate, as long as he resided in England, was to preside; and who was likewise to have the power of punishing by ecclesiastical censures, any infraction of the peace. Before David, or any of his vassals, could be liable to such censures, they had right to justify themselves before the legate in any secure place upon the Borders; and to which place they were bound to appear whenever they were cited, or to be deemed contumacious if they neglected the summons, unless they shewed a sufficient reason for such neglect. If the legatine function should cease, then the same power of coercion by ecclesiastical censure, should be vested in the arch-

archbishops of Canterbury successively. The peace was concluded upon these terms, and a general remission also took place of offences, which either party at any time had committed.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after this treaty, David received a summons to appear before the king in London, attended by the Welsh commissioners; in order to proceed before the legate in the business of arbitration.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh prince, in no haste to have the arbitration proceed, or to name the referees, slighted the summons. He soon after received another order from Henry, to appear himself at Shrewsbury, or to send his deputies.<sup>3</sup> To this summons he thought proper to pay obedience; and he sent commissioners accordingly to that place, where new arbitrators

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<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 389, 390. Brady, vol. I. p. 575.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> Brady, vol. I. p. 578, says Worcester.



were appointed, and a certain time fixed, when their decision was to take place.'

THE submission of David was only to gain time. He had conceived the design of shaking off his dependence on the crown of England. For he had lately formed an alliance with the brothers of Gryffydd ap Madoc, lord of the Lower Powys; having seduced those chieftains from their allegiance, as well as others of the Welsh tenants belonging to the English crown. The first act of his revolt, was to lay waste the territories of Sir Ralph Mortimer, and others of Henry's feudatories; he also retained in his own hands the estates of Hugh Vaughan and his nephews, contrary to the award of a late arbitration; and he likewise seized a vessel, on its voyage to Chester, loaded with wheat and other provisions. Henry, upon these outrages, sent to the prince of Wales a peremptory letter, enumerating the grievances above related,

\* Rymer, p. 392. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

and

and enjoining him to persuade the revolted chieftains to return to their duty; and also that he should make restitution for all the injuries, which the king's subjects had received during the late infringement of the peace.<sup>1</sup>

INFLUENCED by motives of pity and affection, the bishop of Bangor interested himself in the safety of Gryffydd, whom his brother David still kept in confinement. He was also assisted in his generous design, by Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had married Glwadys the sister of the captive prince.<sup>2</sup> With much earnest solicitation they requested that he might be released out of prison; but all in vain; David did not dare let loose among the people, a spirit like his brother's, popular and brave, and full of resentment for former injuries. The bishop of Bangor, on this refusal, excommunicated

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27.

A. D. David, and withdrew into England. Re-

1241.

25th of pairing to the English king, he laid before

Hen. III.

him, the barbarity and injustice of his nephew's conduct; and earnestly implored that monarch to exert his authority, that this unfortunate prince might be restored to his liberty.<sup>1</sup> He likewise sent his complaints to Rome, and had interest sufficient with the Pope, to obtain a confirmation of the late sentence, and also to lay the dominions of the prince of Wales under an interdict.<sup>2</sup>

THE party was at this time increased which had been formed in favour of Gryffyth, who was become still more dear to the people; the injuries he had received, and his wretched situation, having rendered him an object of their pity. His wife Sina, a woman of spirit and address, confederate with the bishop of Bangor, and with many of the Welsh nobility, entered into a treaty with

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 300. Brady, vol. I. p. 578.

Henry, in hopes of interesting that prince in the cause of her unfortunate husband.' The negotiation was supported with such powerful persuasions, that Henry, inclining to their interest, sent an order to David to release his brother out of captivity. This order was attended by the following admonition; that by pursuing such a conduct, he would recover the honour of his character, and that it also would be the means of his receiving absolution from the Pope.' This mandate the Welsh prince peremptorily refused to obey, alledging in his excuse, that if Gryffyth was set at liberty, such was his spirit, and the strength of his party, that he would raise the greatest commotions throughout Wales.<sup>1</sup> The king, resenting his nephew's disobedience, commanded his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester, and from thence he proceeded with a large army to

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Welsh Chron. p. 300.



Shrewsbury: He had, also, been previously encouraged to this undertaking, under assurances of aid, by Gryffyth ap Madoc, the lord of the Lower Powys. During the king's residence at Shrewsbury, which was fifteen days, many Welsh and English lords, his vassals, gave him the meeting; all of them friendly to Gryffyth, and who came, in concert with his wife, to support the negotiation.\*

With a tenderness and energy of spirit, which marked a fine and just sensibility, that lady stipulated with the king for the enlargement of her husband, on the following terms; that Gryffyth should pay to the king six hundred marks, on condition that

\* Matth. Paris, p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Mont Alto steward of Chester, Maelgôn ap Maelgon, Meredydh ap Rotpert lord of Cydewen, Gryffyth ap Madoc lord of Bromfield, Howel and Meredydh the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh, and Gryffyth the son of Gwenwynwyn lord of Powys. Welsh Chron. p. 301.

he caused Gryffyth and Owen his son to be delivered out of prison ; and that they should stand to the judgment of the king's court, whether by law they ought to have been imprisoned. That Gryffyth and his heirs should also stand to the judgment of the king's court, concerning that portion of the inheritance of Llewelyn his father, which of right appertained unto him : the said Sina undertaking for Gryffyth and his heirs, that they should pay yearly for that territory, the sum of three hundred marks ; whereof the one third part should be paid in money, the second in cattle, and the third in horses, by the estimation of impartial men ; and that the same should be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, by even portions, into the hands of the sheriff of the county of Salop. Sina farther undertook for Gryffyth and his heirs, that they should observe the peace with David, and suffer him quietly to enjoy such portions of his father's inheritance as to him should be found to be due. She also under-

H 4

took

took for her husband and his heirs, that in case any Welshman should hereafter rebel against the king, they at their own charge, should compel the offender to make satisfaction.\* For the performance of these conditions, she engaged to deliver up as pledge to the king, David and Roderic her sons; but with this restriction, that if either Gryffyd or Owen, should happen to die before his delivery out of prison, it should be lawful for Sina to have one of her sons released, the other remaining with the king as an hostage. She likewise swore upon the holy Evangelists, that Gryffyd and his heirs, should punctually perform all these premises; and she farther undertook, that Gryffyd on his delivery out of prison, should take the same oath. Sina, in the name of her husband, submitted herself, as to the observance of the premises, to the jurisdiction of the reverend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Litchfield; to the end that those bishops, or either

\* Brady, vol. I, p. 579. Matth. Paris, 550.

of them, at the king's request, should compel Gryffyth and his heirs to observe these conditions, on pain of excommunication on their persons, and interdiction on their land; and lastly, that her husband should deliver this instrument in writing to the king in the form aforesaid. To this compact both parties set their seals; Gryffyth and Sina to that part which remained with the king, and the king to that part which remained with Sina. In ratification of this treaty, the lords before-mentioned, swore fealty to the king, and pledged themselves for the punctual performance of its several articles.

A DEEP cloud, at this period, hung over David, and menaced his safety. The king of England, advancing towards Chester, at the head of a large army, had entered the frontiers of his country;<sup>1</sup> many of the

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, No. I. Marth. Paris, p. 551. Welsh Chr. p. 303. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

<sup>2</sup> The approaches into Wales, this summer, had been rendered very easy by a long drought; which, having continued four months, had dried up the marshes.

Welsh



Welsh nobility were in confederacy against him, in favour of his rival and the object of his cruelty; but the circumstance above all others most likely to excite his terror, was the censure of the church; which hanging over his head, like a sword suspended in the air, left him only a precarious possession of his throne.<sup>1</sup> David saw the storm as it gathered round him; and his resolution failing, he sent an offer to Henry to release his brother out of prison; provided that he himself might be taken into favour, under all the security which hostages, and other ties could give for his future fidelity.<sup>2</sup> Henry agreed to grant his nephew pardon and peace upon the terms he himself had offered, but which he added the following conditions. That David should deliver up his brother Gryffydd and his son Owen to the king. That he should stand to the judgment of the king's court, whether Gryffydd ought to be imprisoned; and also for the portion of his

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. father

father's inheritance, which he claimed according to the custom of Wales, and should hold that land of the king in capite : That he should deliver up to Roger de Mont Alto steward of Chester, his land in the lordship of Mould, with all its appurtenances : That he should restore to the barons all such land, lordships, and castles, which had been taken from them since the commencement of the wars, between king John and his father Llewelyn : That he should defray all the charges of Henry in the last expedition : That he should make satisfaction for all the injuries done by him, or his subjects, to the king or his people : That he should restore unto him all the homages which king John had received, or ought to have received, especially from the noblemen of Wales : That the lordships of Elefsmere and Englefield should be conveyed to the king for ever : That he should not receive any of the king's subjects within the dominions of Wales, who were outlawed or banished : And lastly, under the obligation

obligation of giving hostages, and the penalty of forfeiture, that he should enter into the most solemn engagements, that he would never recede from Henry's service, that he would observe all his commands, and would stand to the law in his courts.<sup>1</sup>

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As a pledge of his sincerity, that he really intended to preserve the peace according to this treaty, the Welsh prince consented that the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, Ely, Hereford, and Coventry, should be arbitrators between him and the king; and that he himself should be liable to their ecclesiastical censures, if, on his part, any of the articles were violated.<sup>2</sup>

A FEW months after the peace was concluded, David repaired to the English court.

<sup>1</sup> This treaty was signed on the part of David, by the bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, at Alnet on the river Elwy near St. Asaph. Welsh Chron. p. 306. Matth. Paris p. 552. Brady, vol. I. p. 580. Rymer, p. 396, 397, 398.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chr. p. 306. Brady, p. 580. M. Paris, p. 554 and

and having performed homage to Henry, and given him the strongest assurances of his fidelity, even under the penalty of forfeiture if he should again revolt, he returned with a safe conduct into Wales.\* The Welsh nation, at this dishonourable period, was reduced to the lowest ebb of their fortunes; their independency gone, their prince the acknowledged vassal of England, and in appearance every spark of public virtue extinguished.

THOUGH the treaty had been ratified, David was not entirely divested of his fears. He sent privately to Henry, desiring, that being his nephew; he might continue to enjoy the principality of Wales in preference to Gryffyth, who was not related to the king. He likewise insinuated, that by setting his brother at liberty, he let loose a spirit that would raise divisions in the country,

\* Welsh Chron. p. 307. Matth. Paris, p. 506.



and administer causes for continual wars.<sup>1</sup> Coinciding but too well with the wishes and interested views of Henry, the reasons which were offered by the Welsh prince decided the fate of his brother. Having received him from the hands of David, the king sent the unfortunate Gryffydd, and the hostages lately given up, to London, in the custody of Sir John de Lexington, with orders that that prince, and his eldest son Owen, should be confined in the tower:<sup>2</sup> a conduct full of meanness and duplicity, and unworthy of a great monarch. The king likewise ordered a noble day to be allowed him for his maintenance.<sup>3</sup>

THOUGH deserted by the world, and in the power of his enemies, one friendly bosom was still alive to his interests. His faithful adherent the bishop of Bangor came again

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chr. p. 307. M. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 506. Welsh Chron. p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 545. Holinshed, p. 228.

to the English court, to intercede with the king for the enlargement of Gryffyth; but, humanity and justice not mingling in Henry's councils, he rejected every solicitation which was made in his favour. Languishing two years in confinement, and despairing of any other relief, this miserable prince, at length, attempted to make his escape; thinking any danger preferable to a situation so wretched, as that of being confined in a foreign prison, during his life, the victim of state policy. One night, having deceived his keepers, he got out of the window, and with a line which he had made by fastening together pieces of the tapestry of his chamber, the sheets belonging to his bed, and the napkins that covered his table, he attempted to let himself down from the tower, in which he was confined. But being very corpulent, after he had descended a little way, his weight broke the line, and he fell into the ditch with such violence, that his head and neck were nearly driven into his body; in

in which situation he was found in the morning.<sup>1</sup> His son Owen, and Sina his wife, who had shared in his tedious captivity, were the witnesses of this melancholy spectacle.<sup>2</sup>

A. D. 1244.  
1st of March.  
28th of Hen. III.  
This disaster, instead of raising Henry's pity, was a reason with that prince for treating his son with greater rigour, by rendering more close his confinement.<sup>3</sup> The reader will feel an emotion of sorrow at the fate of this gallant prince; who, in a foreign country, and impelled by the first law of nature, fell a victim to the designs of an ambitious brother, to the perfidious conduct of Henry, and his interested policy.

To strengthen the maritime parts of Flintshire, the English king repaired the fortifications of the castle of Diferth. He likewise exercised the right he had lately acquired as the sovereign over Wales, by giving to Gryffydd the son of Gwenwynwyn, his inheritance in Powys;

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 545. Stowe's Chron. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 545. <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

and



and to the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh, their territories in Meirionnydh.

A NEW scene now opens to our view. The veil is drawn aside which had of late concealed from the Welsh princes the designs of the English monarch. They had vainly thought, though reduced to a state of vassalage, that they should be able to retain the appearance of royalty, and some semblance of their ancient grandeur. They did not reflect, that having lost the substance of power, its attendant shadow would soon disappear. That the Welsh might no longer be deluded by even the semblance of freedom, Henry, already in possession of the sovereignty, gave to his eldest son Edward the title of prince of Wales.\* The death of Gryffydd, the real heir to the crown, though

\* Welsh Chron. p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 695. Polidore Virgil,

p. 311. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p.

49, 30. Welsh Chron. p. 309.



it could not justify the conduct, might give it a colourable pretext. At this intelligence

A. D. David revolted from his allegiance, alive at  
1244.  
last to a sense of shame for his own dishonour, and for the ignominious situation of his country.

- IN hopes of securing his subjects from the various and increasing oppressions of the English government, David solicited the Pope's protection; offering to hold his dominions under him as a fief of the holy see, and to pay likewise an annual tribute of five hundred marks;<sup>2</sup> concluding, that if he and his people must be the vassals of a foreign prince, it was his wisest course to yield obedience to a power which was superior to all the sovereigns in Europe. The Pope, acceding to the proposal, and having received a large sum of money from the Welsh

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Westmin. p. 139. Matth. Paris, p. 550, 573.  
Brady, p. 592.

prince,

prince, vested the abbots of Cymmer and Conway, with full powers to sit as a court of inquiry; whether David was under the influence of terror or of force, at the time he consented to do homage, and to be tied down to the late arbitrations. If an improper influence was found to have been the cause, they were then to absolve him from the oaths and the other engagements which he had taken. In the fulness of spiritual importance, the Welsh abbots summoned king Henry to appear before them at Caerwys;<sup>1</sup> and in the church\* of that town, to answer the complaints which David might alledge against him. This indignity was highly resented by the king, and all the barons of England.<sup>2</sup> But the negotiation with Rome did not in the event produce any useful effect. Henry, acquainted with the venality of that

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 573. Brady, p. 592. Welsh Chron. p. 309, says at Creythyn.

\* *Gustefend.*

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 573. J. Roff, Antiq. Warwicensis, p. 162.

court, and that he might not be baffled by a prince so insignificant as David, made larger offers; which, agreeably to the versatile and unprincipled conduct of Rome, turned the scale in favour of the English.<sup>1</sup>

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1245.

IN the mean time, under the protection of the Pope, and encouraged by so potent an alliance, David had made an incursion into the marches, and had ravaged the estates of the English lords. Henry was at this time in Scotland; but, during his absence, he had appointed the earl of Hereford, the earl of Clare, Thomas de Monmouth, Roger de Mont Alto, and others of the lords marchers, to make head against the Welsh, and to check their depredations.<sup>2</sup> Incursions continuing to be carried on with terrible devastations, the king, on his return into England, sent

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 309. Rymer, vol. I. p. 425, 430.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 562. Polidore Virgil, p. 308, says, that in this enterprise David lost the greater part of his army, and that he repaired to Scotland, to incite the Scots prince to turn his arms against Henry.

Herbert

Herbert Fitz Mathew, with three hundred horse, to co-operate with the lords of the marches.<sup>1</sup> Before his arrival, the Welsh prince had routed the forces of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph de Mortimer; the former lord having in some measure been the cause of this insurrection, by detaining from David a certain district of land, which had been the property of his wife,<sup>2</sup> and who was sister to that nobleman. These disasters alarmed king Henry, and created great indignation among the English. But his finances were so much exhausted, and his credit so low, that the parliament refused him the means of carrying on the war;<sup>3</sup> thinking, it is probable, that the Welsh were neither much to be blamed, nor, if allowed to remain unmolested, were they much to be feared.

UNCHECKED by any national force, hostilities, which were carried on with vari-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Brady, vol. I. p. 592. Matth. Paris, p. 572.



A. D. ous success, continued to desolate the Borders.<sup>1245.</sup> In the course of which, a party of the 29th of  
Hen. III. Welsh had been drawn into an ambuscade

by the constable of Montgomery castle, and three hundred of them cut in pieces.<sup>1</sup> To revenge this loss, David fell with great fury on the estates of the English lords. This inroad was opposed by Herbert Fitz Mathew, at the head of the militia belonging to the marches. But that general, breathing the spirit of revenge, and unacquainted with the country, soon led the English army into a difficult situation; in which they were suddenly attacked by the Welsh, who were posted upon the heights adjacent, and from thence much annoyed their enemies by a shower of stones, arrows, and darts. In this rude encounter, Herbert Fitz Mathew was killed by a large stone rolled down from the mountains. The English, dispirited by the loss of their leader, retreated with precipitation out of the country. This success

<sup>1</sup> Marth. Paris, p. 575.

animated the Welsh to pursue their devastations with increased vigour and fury. But they soon after sustained the loss of two hundred men in another ambuscade near the castle of Montgomery. Incensed at this disaster, and taking advantage of the general consternation, the prince of Wales laid siege to the castle of Mold, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword; the governor, Roger de Mont Alto, having escaped the danger, he not being in the fortress at the time it was taken. These bloody events heightened the fierceness of the war, and it was henceforward carried on with a savage and unrelenting fury; neither of the parties sparing the age, nor sex, nor condition of their enemies.'

DAVID was now summoned to appear, with all the barons of Wales, in the king's court at Westminster, to do homage, and to answer for the depredations which they had

' Matth. Paris, p. 576.

lately committed. About twenty of the Welsh nobility made their appearance. Instead of obeying the summons, the prince of Wales appears to have amused the English court by a treaty; which having miscarried, the most formidable preparations were made by Henry for the entire conquest of the country.<sup>1</sup>

THE revolt now wore a most serious aspect. The English parliament therefore, not only gave the necessary supplies, but thought proper that the king should in person

A. D. go into Wales; to give an early check to David's career, and to punish the rebellion of an insolent vassal. It was on this occasion, that an extraordinary assessment of forty shillings took place for every knights fee, called the scutage of Gannock.<sup>2</sup> Summonses were sent to all the barons and others who held of

A. D.  
June  
1245.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 427—431.

<sup>2</sup> Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 82, from Rotul. Pip. 30 Hen. III. Oxon.

the

the king by knights service and serjeantry to be ready to march into Wales, or to send thither their services.<sup>1</sup> Orders were likewise sent to Henry's justiciary in Ireland, that a diversion should be made from thence on the island of Anglesey;<sup>2</sup> and for that purpose he was to provide the choicest of his soldiers; he was also to furnish the necessary provisions for the army which was to be employed in the Welsh expedition.<sup>3</sup>

It was about the middle of August that Henry entered the confines of Wales. By that time, the Irish had made a descent upon Anglesey, and had dreadfully ravaged that island;<sup>4</sup> but not being properly supported by the English king, who had been too slow in his movements, they were assailed by the inhabitants, when loaded with plunder, and were driven back to their ships.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 433. Brady, vol. I. p. 591. Matth. Paris, p. 580.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 310. <sup>3</sup> Rymer, p. 431.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 599. <sup>5</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 310.



THE English army was too powerful for David to resist in the open field; he therefore retired to the mountains of Snowdon, leaving Henry's march open and unmolested, until he had advanced to the arm of the sea, which is opposite to Conway. Not daring to pass that river, and enter into the mountainous recesses of the country, the enemy unseen and in flying parties hovering around him, Henry halted his troops; though determined that the expedition should not be rendered entirely fruitless. On the point of a promontory which projects into the sea, were the ruins of an ancient fortification; once a Roman station, and which had been afterwards a fortress belonging to the Welsh, called Diganwy, and an occasional residence of their earlier princes. Thinking this a proper situation, the king began to rebuild this castle; the garrison of which might be able to intercept the enemies parties whenever they made incursions into England.

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 597. Henry de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, p. 2443. Welsh Chron. p. 311.

But

But the Welsh did not remain unconcerned spectators of a transaction of so hostile a nature; and which, if suffered to be completed, would prove the deadly dart,\* which would remain and fester in the bosom of their country.

DURING the ten weeks which Henry had employed in erecting this fortress, his army, which lay encamped in the open field, was exposed to many inconveniencies. The weather growing exceedingly cold towards the close of the summer, the soldiers suffered much by being thinly clad, and by having no other covering than tents made of linen; the troops, likewise, was, at times, reduced to great distress by a scarcity of provisions,<sup>2</sup> receiving only a precarious supply from

\* Matth. Paris says, *Spina in oculo*.

<sup>2</sup> The bread which was usually sold for one farthing now sold for five-pence, a hen for eight-pence; and the English had in their camp only one cask of wine, one ox, and one quarter of corn, worth twenty shillings.—Matth.

Paris,

from Chester and Ireland; they were also much harraſſed, and their numbers reduced, by the inceſſant attempts which the Welch made in the night, to cut off their ſtraggling parties, and to ſtorm their camp.\*

In this perilous ſtate, a veſſel loaded with proviſions, arrived out of Ireland, and had been ſuffered to run aground on the ſhore adjoining to Snowdun, at the ebb of the tide, by the negligence of the mariners. The Welch did not neglect this fortunate occurrence, but ran to take poſſeſſion of the prize, by this time laid dry on the ſtrand. In attempting which, they received a check from Sir Walter Biſſet; who, with great

Paris, p. 598.—But, perhaps, a reſervation was made for a due ſupply of proviſions for the caſtle of Gannock; which, it appears, was completely furniſhed with every neceſſary, on the king's departure.

\* In one of theſe conflicts, the Engliſh having the advantage, they brought in triumph to their camp, the heads of nearly one hundred Welchmen. See Matth. Paris, p. 598.

ſpirit

spirit and conduct, defended the vessel, until a reinforcement of Welshmen, who were Henry's vassals in the marches, had crossed the river, and had come to his relief. Having driven off the assailants, the English party pursued them with great slaughter, six miles, up into the country; and, on their return, flushed with success, pillaged of its books and silver cups, the abbey of Conway; a religious house of the Cistercian Order. They then set fire to all the offices. With a rage that bordered upon frenzy, the Welsh ran down from the mountains to preserve that venerable pile, the object of their piety, and which had lately become the *mausoleum* of their princes. Finding the English overloaded with spoils, they slew great numbers, and wounded others; many also were taken prisoners; and the remainder, to avoid the fury of the Welsh, plunged into the Conway, and perished in the water. Besides those who were drowned, several gentlemen of rank, and about one hundred common persons,



persons, fell by the sword. In this day's action, the same number were slain on the side of the Welsh. The soldiers who were taken alive, were at first only lodged in confinement; but the Welsh, being informed that their enemies had lately put to death some lords of their nation, ordered all the prisoners to be hanged; then, cutting off their heads, and, with a barbarous rage, tearing their dead bodies in pieces, they threw their mutilated limbs into the Conway water.<sup>1</sup> Some colour of justice, indeed, was given to this act of ferocity; many of the prisoners being Welshmen, who, under the command of the lords of Powys, had joined the enemies of their country.

THE vessel before-mentioned, which was still aground, was again violently assailed, and as bravely defended, until midnight, by

<sup>1</sup> Marth. Paris, p. 597, 598, 599. This account is given by an English lord serving at that time in Henry's army.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 311.

Sir Walter Bisset; when, on the flowing of the tide, and the ship being afloat, the Welsh were obliged to retire. During the night, the party, commanded by Sir Walter, was released from their post, and leaving the ship, escaped to the English camp. In the morning, it being then low water, the Welsh returned to the vessel, to make further depredations on their prize; and finding her deserted, carried away almost all the wine, and the remainder of the cargo. Having so far secured this valuable prize, a part of which consisted of fifty-three tons of wine, they set fire to the ship, and made good their retreat. Seven tons only were saved by the English, who drew them out of a part of the vessel which had not been consumed by the fire.

During these transactions, David the prince of Wales, being sick and oppressed with cares, frequently retired to his camp at *Tintaiol*, to refresh himself, and recover from the fatigues of war. Matth. Paris, p. 599.

## 5

HAVING,

HAVING, at length, finished the important fortress of Diganwy,<sup>1</sup> in the face of the Welsh, and against all the efforts they had used to prevent it; Henry left in that castle a numerous garrison, well furnished with victuals and all military implements, and being unable to continue any longer in this situation, his provisions being exhausted, and the winter being near, he returned at the end of October, with the remainder of his army, into England.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1245.

MANY causes conspired to render deplorable the situation of the Welsh. No party of theirs could move towards the Cheshire frontier, but they were liable to be cut off by the garrison of the new fortified castle of Diganwy. Anglesey, the granary of Wales, had been so entirely laid waste by the Irish, that no advantage could be derived from thence; nor could they be supplied

<sup>1</sup> Called Gannock by the English.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 599.

with provisions from other parts, as orders had been given by the English king in the marches and in Ireland, that, on pain of death, no merchandize whatever, or victuals<sup>1</sup> should be carried into Wales.<sup>2</sup> He had likewise ordered all the salt<sup>3</sup> works to be destroyed in the country.<sup>4</sup> What heightened still more the public distress, the territories of the Welsh prince were reduced within the limits of Meiriondyh and the present county of Caernarvon, and to the barren parts of the adjoining country; and, it is probable, too, that besides the usual inhabitants, those mountains were at this time crowded with people, who had fled out of the valleys for protection.<sup>5</sup> In such a situation, the Welsh had no alternative but famine, or submission to Henry's authority.

<sup>1</sup> By this prohibition of the English king, such was the scarcity of provisions, that a famine had nearly taken place in Chester, and in the adjacent country. Matth. Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 440. Matth. Paris, p. 599.

<sup>3</sup> Puteos Salinarum de *Wicz.* Matth. Paris.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 599. <sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 600.



In this season of common calamity, the rage of contending parties was suspended; and all the chieftains of Wales, retaining no longer their animosities, and uniting in a generous confederacy, gave to their sovereign the most solemn assurances of perpetual allegiance.<sup>1</sup> But their offers of aid, or their vows of fidelity, had no power of affording relief to David; the miseries of his country, and the prospect which was opening before him, had broken his spirit; and, a few months after, sinking under the weight of sorrow, lamented by his subjects, and rising in their esteem, he died<sup>2</sup> at Aber, a palace in which he usually resided, upon the sea coast in Caernarvonshire. This prince left no issue, and was buried in the abbey of Conway.<sup>3</sup>

A. D.  
1246.  
30th of  
Hen. III.

We have now seen the Welsh nation subject to the most distant extremes of fortune.

<sup>1</sup> Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 608, 610.

<sup>3</sup> Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 268.

Their annals, in rapid succession, are marked with striking vicissitudes. Influenced by sudden, and often by hidden springs, we have seen them, by uniting their strength, and exerting its force, rising up to the height of prosperity; and then, from causes which were equally capricious, falling, in a moment, into disunion and vassalage.

HIS-

DAVID AB INIMICIS

## HISTORY OF WALES.

## BOOK VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OWEN AND LLEWELYN  
THE SONS OF GRYFFYD AP LLEWELYN AP  
JORWERTH, TO THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN AP  
GRYFFYD.

On the death of the late prince, the Welsh A. D.  
nobility elected Owen and Llewelyn joint 1246.

sovereigns of North Wales. These young  
princes were the sons of Gryffyd ap Lle-  
welyn, who some years before had been killed  
by attempting to escape out of the tower of  
London.

Welsh Chron. p. 314.

K 3 OWEN



OWEN had shared in the captivity of his father, but was afterwards taken into Henry's favour, and appears to have been highly caressed in the English court. *Receiving intelligence of the late events, he suddenly withdrew out of England, and fortunately effected his escape into Wales.* The young prince Llewelyn, before his accession to the throne, had resided at Maesmynan near Caerwys in Flintshire; and possessed, as the patrimony which he had received from his father, the cantrevs of Englefield, Dyffryn-Clwyd, Rhos, and Rhyvonioc; all of which he had held, during the late reign, in opposition to his uncle David, and the English monarch.

OPPRESSED by the hated laws of England, the Welsh, at this period, had neither opportunity nor spirit, to carry on commerce, nor to cultivate their land, and in consequence were perishing by famine: they were likewise

\* Matth. Paris, p. 608.

\* Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 28.

deprived

deprived of the usual pasturage for their cattle: and, to recite the words of an old writer, expressive of their bondage, “the harp of the churchmen is changed into sorrow and lamentations: the glory of their proud and ancient nobility is faded away.”

In this state of their country, the Welsh princes thought it prudent, upon their accession, to conclude a peace with the English king, on the following severe conditions; of yielding up for ever the cantrevs of Rhos, Rhyoniac, Dyffryn-Clwyd, and Englefield, being all the country from the frontier of Cheshire to the water of Conway. They were likewise obliged to serve in Wales, or

The bishop of St. David, is said, at this time, to have died of grief, and the bishop of Llandaff, to have been stricken blind: the bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, likewise, on their bishopricks being entirely ruined, were under the necessity of supplicating alms, as a means of subsistence. Vide Matth. Paris, p. 642.

*Cymry or Chief Water.*

K 4

in the marches, with one thousand foot and twenty-four horse, armed and well appointed at their own expence, whenever they were called upon; but with five hundred infantry only, when the service should require that duty to be performed in any other place: The homage and services of all the barons in Wales were to remain with the kings of England for ever: If there should be any infringement of the peace on the part of the Welsh princes, an entire forfeiture of their territories was to be the consequence. For these concessions, after the two princes had performed their homage, Henry granted them a full pardon, and the enjoyment of the a full residue of North Wales, to be held under the crown of England for ever.

A. D. 1247.  
31st of  
Hen. III.

THE country from Chester to the river Conway, which had been given by Henry

\* Rymer, p. 443. About this time, the abbots of Stratforda and Conway procured from the English king the body of the late Gryffyth ap Llewelyn, which they safely conveyed to the abbey of Conway, where the remains of that prince were honourably interred. Welsh Chr. p. 319.

as an appendage to his son prince Edward, was, at this time, let out to farm to Alan de Zouch, an English baron, for eleven hundred marks.<sup>1</sup> He superseded John de Grey, <sup>1251.</sup> 35th of who was to have held it for the lesser sum of <sup>Hen. III.</sup> five hundred.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh, likewise, early tasted another bitter fruit of their subjection; a tallage having been laid upon all that territory which had been lately ceded in Wales, to defray the expence of Henry's intended expedition into the Holy Land.<sup>3</sup>

For some years the Welsh nation, dispirited and inactive, had lost with their freedom every trace of their national character; until the demon of discord, reviving their spirit and genius, roused it once again into action.

OWEN, the eldest of the reigning Welsh A. D. <sup>1254.</sup> princes, not enduring a partner in the throne, drew in David his younger brother, to engage

<sup>1</sup> Brady, vol. I. p. 605.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 795.

<sup>3</sup> Carte's Hist. Eng. Inter. Communia. Trin. Term.

<sup>36</sup> Hen. III.

with



with him in hostilities against Llewelyn. The two brothers, in pursuance of their ambitious designs, took the field with a considerable force; and fighting with Llewelyn, their army was routed, after a long and bloody engagement, and they themselves taken prisoners, and secured in confinement; leaving to that prince the sole possession of what remained of this mutilated kingdom.

THE eyes of the Welsh nobility were at length opened; a series of injuries had awakened them into a sense of their lost condition. Actuated by one common spirit, the chieftains of Wales resorted to Llewelyn; and complained of the grievances which they had long endured from prince Edward, and from the lords of the marches; that their estates had been taken from them by force, without any colour of justice; and that they were, also, treated with severity, whenever they committed the smallest offence;

Welsh Chron. p. 319. Annales Burton, p. 386.

but

but that they themselves could obtain no redress, for any injury which was done them by the English. In the most solemn manner, and with an afflicted though manly spirit, they declared; that they would rather die in the field in defence of their natural rights, than be subject any longer to so cruel and oppressive an enemy. Necessity, virtue, and despair, influenced Llewelyn to second their ardour. They all determined to rescue their country from its vile dependence upon England, or bravely to perish amidst the ruins of its freedom.

When men meet to deliberate, and form a resolution to revolt, a decisive conduct should then take place of feeble and temporising measures. The conduct of Llewelyn, on this important occasion, was equally rapid and decisive. He recovered Meirionydh, and the inland country of North Wales which had been lately ceded to Henry; and also

\* Welsh Chron. p. 320. Math. Paris, p. 806.

such

such territories in Caerdigan, as were in the possession of prince Edward; and the district also of Gwrthrynton, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.

THE summer following he made an incursion into Powys, and subdued a great part of the territory which belonged to Gryffydd

A. D. ap Gwenwynwyn; to revenge the baseness<sup>1256.</sup> of his conduct in taking part with the English king.<sup>40th</sup> With a spirit, which marked a

liberal and penetrating mind, the prince of Wales divided among the chiefs, his associates in the war, the estates he had conquered. It was certainly a right conduct in Llewelyn, having put his life and his crown to the hazard, to secure the attachment of interested chieftains, by such an act of princely munificence.

ALARMED at a revolt, directed by a common spirit of union, Henry sent a large

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 806.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 320.

army

army by sea to Caermarthen, to the assistance of his vassals in South Wales; which, having laid siege to the castle of Dinevawr, was defeated by the forces of Llewelyn, with the loss of two thousand men. After this victory, the Welsh army laid waste the country of Pembroke, destroying in its march the castles of Abercorran, Llanstephan, Maenlochoc, and Arberth; and then returned, A. D. 1256. with the spoils which had been taken from the enemy, into North Wales.

It is not to be supposed, that Edward, a prince of the age of seventeen, full of fire and ambition, would see without emotion the progress of Llewelyn, and the many valuable territories, which that prince, his rival in glory, had lately torn from him. His father being unwilling, or what is more probable, unable to assist him with money, the young prince applied to his uncle the earl of Cornwall; who lent him four thousand marks

= Welsh Chron. p. 320, 321.



to carry on the war. But the heavy rains which fell during the winter, raised the river

A. D. 1256. so much, as to overflow the marshes; whence the progress which he made against the enemy was very inconsiderable, and bore no proportion to his spirit, or his thirst after fame.

The Welsh, exposed to the rapacity of a Farmer-General, and their country often sold to the best bidder, experienced another severe cause of complaint. Sir Geoffrey de Langley had been appointed to superintend that district which lies between Chester and the water of Conway, and to collect, in behalf of prince Edward, his revenue; the payment of which had been lately imposed upon the inhabitants of that country.<sup>1</sup> The rigour with which he exacted this tallage, had excited among the Welsh the highest disgust.

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 805.

<sup>2</sup> Brady, p. 721, 810. It is probable that he succeeded Alan de Zouch, who had brought into England much treasure in carts out of Wales.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 805. Brady, p. 620.

Against

Against every principle of true policy and justice, Edward also attempted to introduce, on a sudden, the English laws into this part of Wales;<sup>1</sup> and in order to give them proper force and effect, he endeavoured to establish courts of justice in every hundred, and in every county.<sup>2</sup> The design spread a general alarm. Horror, and the keenest indignation were excited, when the Welsh saw an odious and foreign jurisdiction rising into a system on the ruins of their native laws; objects which they loved with a tender affection, and revered with a pious enthusiasm; as the types of their ancient glory, and as almost the only vestige which remained of the British empire. Private injury and partial oppression had hitherto met with partial resentment. But there is a degree of oppression, which will urge into resistance even men who are cowards by nature, and who are lost to every senti-

<sup>1</sup> Brady, p. 605.

<sup>2</sup> Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 110, from Chron. Dunstable, p. 321.

ment

ment of virtue. What efforts then might not be expected from the Welsh; a people, brave and irascible, and who were bred upon their mountains the indigenous children of freedom?

A. D. SUCH was their sense of injuries and irritated spirit, that the Welsh joined Llewelyn

1256.

40th of

Hen. III.

in such numbers, that he soon raised a very formidable force, equipped in all points, and armed agreeably to the custom of the country. For the greater ease of procuring provisions, he divided it into two bodies, each of which consisted of thirty thousand men; attended likewise by a squadron of five hundred horse, elegantly appointed and entirely covered with armour. With this formidable force, the Welsh prince laid waste the frontier, on each side of the river Dee to the gates of Chester. The prince of England, unable to resist the violence of such a multitude, and which by

2 Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 50. Matth. Paris, p. 805, 806, 810.

its

its own weight had borne down all opposition, retreated to his uncle the king of the Romans: by whose assistance, having augmented his forces, he returned into Wales; but was still too weak to encounter, or even to give any check to the progress of the Welsh army; although Edward had been lately joined by Gryffyth ap Madoc, the lord of the Lower Powys.<sup>1</sup>

THE natives of South Wales, animated with the same generous spirit, had joined in the common cause.<sup>2</sup> In support of this union, Llewelyn made an inroad into that country, and making himself master of two A. D. 1257. castles, and of several districts belonging to the enemy, he returned towards North Wales; but was intercepted in the course of his march by the prince of England. In attempting to oppose the progress of the prince of Wales,

<sup>1</sup> This chieftain resided in the castle of Dinas-Bran, near Llangollen in Denbighshire. Welsh Chron. p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed, p. 255.



A. D. Edward received a considerable check in the Marches, and was obliged to retire before the Welsh army.<sup>1</sup> Pursuing his route, Llewelyn then laid waste the territories of Gryffydd ap Madoc, in resentment of his late conduct.<sup>2</sup>

THE vanity of Edward was wounded by the disgrace which his fame as a soldier had lately sustained; an affront which he never forgave; and if his spirit and ambition prompted him to the conquest of the country, he was equally spurred on by pride and resentment against Llewelyn, his rival in arms and his competitor for glory. In the situation of the two princes, it was not likely that the dispute would be of long continuance, it must soon cease by the ruin or by the death of one of the competitors.

THE king of the Romans, desirous of mediating between the two hostile powers,

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 810. Welsh Chron. p. 321, 322.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 806.]

sent a letter to the prince of Wales; mildly A. D. requesting, that he would desist from making <sup>1257.</sup> <sub>41st of</sub> any farther depredations. But Llewelyn, taking advantage of the rainy season, and knowing that the marshes were inaccessible,<sup>1</sup> instead of retiring from the field, laid siege to the castle of Diganwy; on the possession of which he must know, that the fate of his country would in a great measure depend.<sup>2</sup> Alarmed for the safety of this important fortress, Henry, who had been hitherto an unconcerned spectator, resolved to go into Wales; and in person to conduct a war, which had proved so unprosperous under the conduct of his son. He dispatched orders to his vassals in Ireland, to make a descent upon the island of Anglesey; that by despoiling that country, he might dry up the source from whence the Welsh had usually received a great part of their sustenance. He summoned all his military tenants in the north, and in the middle of England, to meet him

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 810.<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 322.

on the eleventh of August at Chester; he likewise appointed those of the west to assemble at Bristol, with orders to invade South Wales, under the command of the earl of Gloucester. He was in hopes, that by entering the country in several places, and in different divisions, he might distract the attention of the enemy, and divide their force.<sup>1</sup>

ON the advance of the English, Llewelyn raised the siege, and retired across the river to Snowdun; having first taken the precaution to break down the bridges, to obstruct the roads, to plow up the meadows, to render the fords impassable, and to remove the women, children, and cattle, with all the provisions, out of the adjacent country.<sup>2</sup> Henry did not dare to penetrate that formidable barrier; though he was enabled to remain in his post until Michaelmas, by means of a fleet belonging to the Cinque

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 322. Matth. Paris, p. 817. Rymey, p. 636.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 817.

Ports, which supplied his army with provisions. His measures had been wisely planned, and this campaign might have given the fatal blow to the independency of Wales, if Henry's orders had been obeyed with fidelity. The English army in South Wales, instead of making a diversion in his favour, had remained inactive; not without suspicion of treason falling on the earl of Gloucester the general.<sup>1</sup> Llewelyn no sooner heard of the intention of the Irish of making a descent upon Anglesey, than he dispatched some vessels to intercept them; by which their fleet was defeated, and forced back into Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The winter coming on, and having suffered much by a furious attack which the Welsh had made from the mountains, Henry once again relinquished the field to Llewelyn; A. D. 1257.<sup>3</sup> and, instead of punishing a revolting vassal, he himself, with the broken remains of his

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Dunstaple, p. 325, 326.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 815. Welsh Chron. p. 322.



army, was obliged to make a precipitate and inglorious retreat to Chester.<sup>1</sup>

SUCH was the despair, which the late disastrous campaign had impressed upon the mind of prince Edward, that he was fully determined to relinquish his territories in Wales; and also to renounce his new subjects the Welsh; as a people, who were neither to be subdued, nor, by any means in his power, reduced to submission.<sup>2</sup>

IF disgrace and discomfiture attended Henry's retreat into England, Llewelyn had likewise his share of disappointment. He had been flattered with the expectation of receiving support out of Scotland; a party in that kingdom having engaged by treaty, that as soon as the Welsh were in the field, they would make a diversion in their favour, by invading the northern borders of England.

<sup>1</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 313. Matth. Paris, p. 819.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 817.

land.<sup>1</sup> This design being defeated, by a sudden and decisive measure of the English king,<sup>2</sup> the prince of Wales found himself left, unsupported by any confederate, to sustain the **unequal** pressure of the war.

SENSIBLE of his danger, and reflecting on the miserable state of his dominions, as well as on the injury which had arisen to his subjects, from their having been of late deprived of commerce, Llewelyn was induced, as the father of his people, to put an end to their calamities by a peace with England; which should be grounded upon reasonable concessions. With the consent of his chieftains, he made proposals, that if a peace was concluded, and if the Welsh were restored to their ancient laws, to give a sum of money to king Henry, and to acknowledge his sovereignty; but utterly rejected the idea of allegiance, as a duty which he owed to prince Edward. The English king did not

A. D.

1257.

<sup>1</sup> Brady, vol. I. p. 623.<sup>2</sup> Ibid,

accede to the proposal.<sup>1</sup> It was not likely that the young prince, affairs having taken a more favourable turn, would be inclined to relinquish such valuable territories, and the royal dignity with which he had been lately invested. The peculiar reluctance which the Welsh expressed to the sovereignty of Edward, amidst other motives of conquest, may account for the cruel and vindictive spirit, with which, in the subsequent periods of his life, he pursued this unfortunate nation.

ON this refusal, hostilities continued through the winter.

HAVING summoned to his aid all the chieftains in South Wales, who were his military vassals, Llewelyn came into the marches and took possession of Powys. He banished out of that country Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, one of its chieftains; and received the submission of the other, Gryffydd ap Madoc the lord of Dinas-Bran;

<sup>1</sup> Marth. Paris, p. 819. Brady, p. 622.

who

who perceiving the fortunes of England sinking in the scale, thought it prudent to return to the duty which he had long deserted, and to court the protection of his natural sovereign.<sup>1</sup> Llewelyn then fell with great fury upon the estates of the earl of Gloucester, gained several castles belonging to that nobleman; and overthrew, with considerable loss, a party of English who ventured to oppose him.<sup>2</sup>

To crush this revolt, now raised to a formidable head, Henry once again came in person against Llewelyn; but as if disgrace and misfortune attended his banners, having only penetrated a little beyond Chester, he was obliged to retire with loss into England; obtaining no other fruits in this inglorious expedition, than the satisfaction of destroy-  
A. D. 1257.  
ing the corn as he marched through the country.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 322. Matth. Paris, p. 818.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.      <sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 819, 820.



EARLY in the spring a confederacy had been formed by all the nobility in Wales; who, having sworn fealty<sup>1</sup> to Llewelyn, renewed their engagements, under the most solemn ties, to vindicate at every peril their injured liberties and laws. By this union, princes may be taught the danger, of tearing up by the roots those habits which are grown venerable by time, and which by long usage are become dear to a people.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1257.

THE late events had given a fortunate turn to affairs. The present prosperity of the Welsh, the spoils they had taken from the enemy, the general confederacy which had been lately renewed, and the return of Gryffyth ap Madoc to his allegiance, had diffused through every bosom the hopes of better days. To raise these hopes into pious confidence, Llewelyn addressed his followers in this consolatory and animating language.

<sup>1</sup> British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 818. Welsh Chron. p. 323.

" Thus far," said he, " the Lord God of  
" hosts hath helped us; for it must appear  
" to all that the advantages we have obtained  
" are not to be ascribed to our own strength,  
" but to the favour of God, who can as  
" easily save by *few* as by *many*. How should  
" we a poor, weak, and unwarlike people  
" compared with the English, dare to con-  
" tend with so mighty a power, if God did  
" not patronise our cause? His eye hath  
" seen our affliction, not only those injuries  
" we have suffered from Geoffry de Langley,  
" but those also which we have received from  
" other cruel instruments of Henry and of  
" Edward. From this moment our *all* is  
" at stake. If we fall into the hands of the  
" enemy, we are to expect no mercy. Let  
" us then stand firm by each other. It is  
" our union alone which can render us in-  
" vincible. You see in what manner the  
" king of England treats his own subjects,  
" how he seizes their estates, impoverishes  
" their families, and alienates their minds.

" Will

“ Will he then spare *us*, after all the provocations we have given him, and the farther acts of hostility and revenge which we meditate against him? No, it is evidently his intention to blot out our name from under the face of heaven. Is it not better then at once to die, and go to God, than to live for a time at the capricious will of another, and at last to suffer some ignominious death assigned us by an insulting enemy?” Animated by this oration, the Welsh infested the English Borders with incessant inroads; in the course of their ravages, by fire, by the sword, and by plunder, they rendered the frontier a scene of desolation.\*

IN the course of these hostilities, the confederates made an inroad into Pembroke, and laid waste that country; they likewise had the good fortune to meet with salt, a convenience they had much wanted ever since their brine works had been destroyed by king Henry.

\* Matth. Paris, p. 819.

THOUGH prosperity had of late attended the arms of Llewelyn, and a generous spirit had arisen among the chieftains in Wales, yet such was the miserable state of his country, that the Welsh prince was still inclined to renew his proposals for peace. The English king acceded to the terms which were offered by Llewelyn, and agreed to a truce for one year.<sup>2</sup> His own situation rendered a peace A. D. <sup>1258.</sup> equally necessary to him. He, at this time, <sup>42d of</sup> Hen. III. was deeply entangled in disputes with his barons: the country, too, along the marches of England, had been ruined by the ravages of war: the whole confine was become a desert, without buildings, cattle, or inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

It may raise our surprise, that a prince like Llewelyn, possessing vigour of mind and decision in conduct, at a time when England was weak and internally convulsed, did not

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 658.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 822. Holinhead, p. 257.

take



take advantage of this fortunate juncture, and of the rising spirit of his country, to fix upon a permanent basis, by wise measures and decisive operations, its newly recovered independence. The spirit of a people, however ardent at first, and rising from the spur of oppression, will insensibly die away, if not kept alive by a course of activity and enterprise; and he might have known, that in this perilous crisis, the decline of that generous spirit, like the extinction of the *Vestal fire*, would be the omen of his country's ruin.

THE ties of union thus loosened, and the hurry of action no longer engaging an eager or capricious spirit, Meredydh ap Rhys, an eminent chieftain in South Wales,\* not regarding the oath he had lately taken, revolted from the Welsh confederacy, and espoused the interests of the English king.

\* This chieftain was the son of Rhys ap Rhys, and was the grandson of Rhys ap Gryffydd, the last prince of South Wales.

Welsh Chron. p. 323.

IN order to confirm or enlarge the late truce, or to conclude a peace upon a lasting basis, prince Edward sent Patrick de Canton, attended by the late revolted chieftain, into Wales; to confer on that business, with the Welsh commissioners, at Emlyn, in the present county of Caermarthen. David, the brother of the prince of Wales, who had been lately released out of prison, appeared at the head of the deputies in behalf of Llewelyn. The English commissioner, having understood that his own followers were superior in number to the Welsh, could not refrain, on this opportunity, from indulging the innate detestation in which he held that nation. To gratify this spirit, he stationed his party in a convenient situation upon the road; and, suddenly assailing Llewelyn's commissioners, put many of them to the sword; the chiefs only escaping the perfidy of the English by a precipitate flight. Fired with resentment, David, with the chieftains who attended him, having raised the power of the country, severely

severely revenged this perfidious conduct, by cutting in pieces Patrick and a great number of his followers.<sup>1</sup> This transaction strongly marks in the English an inveteracy of spirit; and marks also the feeble hold which the claims of the Welsh had upon the justice of Henry; when we see that prince, instead of vindicating the honour of his crown, by punishing so flagrant a violation of national faith, affecting to shew resentment against Llewelyn, for an act of retaliation so natural and just.

SUCH, however, was the desire of the Welsh prince for peace, or such the situation of his affairs, that he once again renewed his proposals to Henry for a truce; and more effectually to conciliate his favour, he offered to give that king four thousand marks, three hundred to his son Edward, and two hundred to the queen.<sup>2</sup> The late affair, with a sense of former losses, had so exasperated

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 324. Matth. Paris, p. 838.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 841.

rated Henry, that he at first refused to enter into any terms of accommodation.<sup>1</sup> At length a truce was settled for a year, and ratified by the commissioners of the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1259.  
42d of  
Hen. III.

THE spirit of patriotism which had so lately animated every bosom, and had afforded a ray of hope that the sufferings of this injured people would at length find a period, appears, at this time, to be nearly extinguished. The bishop of Bangor, at the desire of the Welsh nobility, was sent by the prince of Wales to solicit peace from king Henry; and to offer that monarch sixteen thousand pounds weight of silver, provided that his subjects might enjoy their ancient customs and laws, and might have all their disputes heard, and legally determined at Chester.<sup>3</sup> In this negotiation, nothing farther

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 841.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 324. Rymer, p. 684.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 148. Welsh Chron. p. 325. Holinshed, p. 261.



A. D. was concluded, than the continuation of the truce for one year, which was ratified by the commissioners of the two princes at Oxford.<sup>1</sup>

SIR Roger Mortimer, governor of the castle of Buellt, which he held under prince Edward, attended, in pursuance of a summons, his duty in the English parliament. Under the alledged reason, that contrary to his oath that nobleman had supported the English cause, Llewelyn surprised in the night his fortrefs, in breach of the truce then subsisting; and continuing his route into South Wales, committed in that country great depredations.<sup>2</sup> Insinuations on this account having been thrown out against the conduct of Sir Roger Mortimer, who was a near relation to Llewelyn; it was thought necessary that an inquiry should be made into that affair. Accordingly he was called before

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 708.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 325. Rymer, p. 705.

the

the English council, where he was fully acquitted; though very much to the dissatisfaction of prince Edward, who formally entered his protest against the decision of that assembly.\*

To check this rising spirit of revolt, and to chastise the Welsh for the late infraction of the peace, summonses were sent to the earls of Hereford and Gloucester, to assemble with their followers on a certain day at Shrewsbury. The like notices were also sent to all the tenants who held of the king in capite; in the several counties of York, Lancaster, Rutland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Warwick; to form a junction at Chester, and from thence to assist in carrying on the war. The thunders of the church were likewise pointed at the head of Llewelyn. That prince was excommunicated, and his kingdom put un-

\* Rymer, p. 706, 707, 708.

der an interdict, in default of immediate restitution and reparation of damages.' This formidable army was commanded by Simon de Montford earl of Leicester. That general, finding the summer too far advanced to pursue his operations, or, what is more probable, influenced by a secret inclination to the enemy's cause, advised the court of England to grant a peace to Llewelyn; he likewise did not prevent the Welsh prince at the same time from committing depredations in South Wales.<sup>1</sup>

It is asserted, that Llewelyn dispersed the rising storm, by disavowing the fact which gave occasion to the war, and by employing the bishop of Bangor to solicit a renewal of the truce.<sup>2</sup> It is certain, however, that a truce was settled for one year longer between

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 708.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 709, 710, 711. Guthrie's English Hist. p. 789.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 713.

the

the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery. In this treaty, the conditions of peace concluded at Oxford were ratified: That each party should keep possession of their estates, vassals, and castles: That the fords should not be stopped, nor any other communication, nor the woods be cut down; and that the castles of Diganwy and Diferth, then in the possession of the English, should be supplied with provisions as occasion might require.<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark, that two A. D. sets of commissions were issued, to the same<sup>1261.</sup> effect, and in the same words; except that<sup>44th of</sup> in the one, the name of prince Edward was joined to that of his father; but in the other commission his name was omitted. This was probably owing to an idea, that as the Welsh had conceived much jealousy of, and dislike to the young prince, the insertion of his name, as a contracting party, might be some impediment to the treaty.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. I. p. 718.

<sup>2</sup> Carte's Hist. England. Guthrie's Hist. England.



A PARTY of the Welsh, under the direction of their prince, and in violation of the late treaty, having suddenly taken and demolished the castle of Melienyth in the county of Radnor, a fortrefs belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer; that nobleman came to its relief, attended by a great body of lords and knights; and, finding no enemy to oppose his design, he stationed himself within its ruins. In

A. D.  
1261.  
this situation, he was suddenly invested by Llewelyn. Finding his post untenable, Mortimer sent to the Welsh prince for licence to evacuate the castle. It was a strange request for an open enemy, or a suspected traitor to make. With a gallantry of spirit, which might have been derived from the purest ideas of chivalry, Llewelyn allowed him to depart out of the dismantled fortrefs without any molestation. The prince of Wales then proceeded to Brecknock, at the request of the inhabitants of that country; and having received their oaths of fidelity, he returned to Aber, situated under *Penmaen Mawr*, a palace between

between Conway and Bangor, in which he occasionally resided.<sup>1</sup>

THE truce appears to have been continued between the two nations upon principles of equal justice, and, in some degree, upon the footing of independent states.<sup>2</sup> These treaties A. D. 1262. successively renewed, did not result so much from any moderation in the politics of England, as from the necessities of Henry, and from the nature of his government, which was weak and strongly convulsed.

AT this time Henry was sick in France. The earl of Leiceſter, then attending the English king, and who had been deeply engaged in opposition to that prince, taking advantage of his indisposition, passed over into England; to reanimate his party, and to take measures for renewing the troubles of

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 325, 326. Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, p. 739, 750.

the nation.' Though the earl did not remain long in the country, he seems then to have formed the confederacy, which long after subsisted between himself and the prince of Wales.<sup>1</sup> The immediate effects resulting from this treaty were of considerable advantage to the interests of Wales; though of less importance than might have been expected, if Llewelyn had waited until time had fully ripened the enterprise.

A. D.

1263.

46th of  
Hen. III.

THE Christmas holidays were scarcely over, when the prince of Wales, with three hundred horse, and thirty thousand infantry, fell upon the marches of England; and having ravaged the country as far as Wigmore, gained possession of two castles, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.<sup>2</sup> Though Mortimer was not able to oppose the main body of the enemy, he was not wanting to himself on this occasion; but calling to his as-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 851.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, p. 754.

istance

stance the lords of the marches, he attacked the detached parties of the Welsh, killing great numbers of them in various rencounters. For these losses the prince of Wales took ample revenge, having had the good fortune to cut off a like number of the English. It does not appear that Llewelyn, in this expedition, committed any ravages, but on those estates which belonged to Sir Roger Mortimer, and to other lords who adhered to the king's cause. Having wasted their territories with fire and sword, he marched his forces into the earldom of Chester, to make the like depredations in Edward's dominions.

THE war becoming now alarming, Henry, who was returned into his own kingdom, sent an order to his son to come immediately into England; the young prince being at this time in France, amusing himself in *jousts* and *tournaments*, agreeably to the taste of this

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 851.

military



military age.<sup>1</sup> Edward, placing no confidence in the English nobility, engaged in his service one hundred foreign knights; who, deserting the semblance of war, were desirous ofignalising themselves in more perilous encounters.

On his arrival in England, Edward lost no time in marching against Llewelyn. His A. D. presence was highly necessary to check that 1263. prince's career. For besides the dreadful devastations he had committed on the territories of Edward, through which he had marched, the prince of Wales had already taken the castle of Diferth, and the important fortrefs of Diganwy.<sup>2</sup> These posts were immediately destroyed. The latter had been of the utmost value to the English, and highly dangerous to the safety of Wales. Situated on the coast, it was open to receive a continual supply of

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 755.

<sup>2</sup> Jo. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 162. Matth. Paris, p. 851. Matth. West. p. 149.

provision and soldiers; and, commanding one of the principal passes into Wales over the water of Conway, its garrison was enabled to cut off the excursionary parties of the Welsh; and, being likewise a place of great strength, in point of situation and structure, it afforded to the English a secure retreat upon any disaster.

ON the approach of the English prince, Llewelyn passed the Conway, and sheltered himself amidst the mountains of Snowdon. There was no attacking the enemy in so difficult a post; and, fortunately for Edward, as his pride might have been wounded by the issue of the campaign, he was recalled by his father on an affair of importance.

THE castle of Mold, another place of strength upon the frontier, and usually in the possession of the English, was taken and demolished by Gryffyth ap Gwenwynwyn,

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 264. J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 162. at

A. D. 1263. at this time returned to his allegiance to the prince of Wales. These three castles being taken, the English confine was rendered almost defenceless. The reduction of these fortresses, strong by art and nature, lying upon the frontier, and situated near the sea, was an event glorious to Elewelyn, and of the utmost importance to his country. And if this nation had not been sinking into ruin, with a force too powerful to be resisted, it might, by these important successess, have continued some ages longer an illustrious monument to the world, of what men are capable of performing, whose native spirit is sharpened by injuries, and who, amidst the recesses of their mountains, are contending for freedom.

THE discontented humours, which had been long forming among the English, were now come to a head; and under the guidance of Simon de Montford the earl of Leicester,

had broken out into a dangerous rebellion. The two sons of Montford were dispatched by their father with a strong body of forces, to co-operate with Llewelyn in his ravages on the Borders.<sup>1</sup> The confederate army, for a time, made a dreadful progress, though opposed by Mortimer and other Lords of the marches, and at length took the castle of Radnor, and burned it to the ground.<sup>2</sup> As soon as Edward was informed of these hostilities, he made a hasty march from London to the assistance of Mortimer, then invested by the enemy in the castle of Wigmore. That fortress was soon after taken by the Welsh, but not before Mortimer had made his escape; who fled for protection to prince Edward, then arrived at Hereford.<sup>3</sup> Pursuing his route, the English prince took the castles of Hay, Huntingdon, and Brecknock; the custody of which he committed to Sir

<sup>1</sup> Carte's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Holinhead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Roger



Roger Mortimer.<sup>1</sup> The operations on both sides were suddenly interrupted by a truce; during which time a treaty was to be carried on between the king and the barons, in the presence of the French ambassador.<sup>2</sup> In this

A. D. 1264. treaty, a remission of offences took place, in which Llewelyn was included as the confederate of Simon de Montford.<sup>3</sup>

A. D. 1264. THE chance of war at the battle of Lewes, 47th of Hen. III. had thrown the king of England and his son Edward, into the hands of the earl of Leicester.<sup>4</sup> To subdue the only enemies which were now able to resist his arms, that general marched towards the Borders of Wales, and carried Henry with him as a pageant of state; thinking that the presence of his sovereign would give a sanction to his own proceedings, and contribute to the credit and support of the

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Matth. Paris, p. 851.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, p. 775, 780. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 782, 783, 784.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 853.

confederacy. Sir Roger Mortimer, and the other lords engaged in the royal cause, expecting to be attacked by Simon de Montford, had broken down the bridge at Worcester; and having destroyed the ferry-boats on the Severn, they encamped on the opposite banks of the river.<sup>1</sup> These precautions prevented the earl of Leicester from penetrating farther than Worcester. The entrance into the country was soon opened by Llewelyn, his friend and his ally; who, by a sudden inroad upon the English Borders, diverted the attention, and weakened the operations of the lords of the marches.<sup>2</sup>

THE confederate army, under the command of the two leaders, having left prince Edward a prisoner in the city of Hereford, ravaged the estates of Sir Roger Mortimer; and, taking the castles of Hay and Ludlow,

<sup>1</sup> Chronica, T. Wykes, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Brady, p. 648. *Annal. Waverleienfis*, p. 220.

pro-

A. D. 1265. proceeded to Montgomery.<sup>1</sup> An admonitory bull was issued by Ottobani the legate to the Welsh prince; requiring him to restore the castles which he had taken, and to withdraw from the confederacy. This mandate did not produce the desired effect. The lords of the marches, therefore, yielding to a superior force, and desirous of obtaining the liberty of Edward, submitted to the earl of Leicester. They agreed to surrender to him their estates and their castles, and to relinquish the realm for one year.<sup>2</sup> Soon after this treaty, a general peace was concluded between Llewelyn and the earl of Leicester, at a conference which they held for that purpose at Hereford.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the late transactions, David the brother of the prince of Wales, deserting the duty which he owed to his sovereign, had fled into England, and had

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 854.

<sup>2</sup> Brady, p. 648.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, p. 814.

engaged in the interests of Henry. And taking an active part against the confederates, in conjunction with lord Audley, and with other barons in the Marches, he was defeated at Chester with considerable loss.<sup>1</sup> Though levity of temper and a turbulent spirit, have hitherto directed the conduct of this prince, and disgraced the tenor of his life, a ray of returning virtue will brighten its declining period.

DISSATISFIED no doubt with the late peace, prince Edward, who since his captivity had resided in the English court at Hereford, escaped out of the power of the earl of Leicester.<sup>2</sup> The young prince was instantly joined by the lords of the marches; who recovering the possession of their own fortresses, made themselves masters of all the country between Hereford and Chester.<sup>3</sup> By

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Thomas Wykes, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Marth. Paris, p. 855. Rymer, p. 810.



a sudden and rapid movement of the enemy, Leicester found himself surrounded by different bodies of troops. In this situation, he had no other resource, than to throw himself into the arms of Llewelyn. That prince, resolving to make every advantage of the present conjuncture, demanded, as the only condition of affording him protection, a full restitution to the inheritance and the dignity of his ancestors. Under the sanction of the king's name, the sovereignty of Wales was restored to Llewelyn, with the homage of all the Welsh barons; he received a grant also of the lordship of Whittington and the hundred of Eilesmere; with the castles of Matilda, Harwarden and A. D. Montgomery.<sup>1</sup> To strengthen the union, and to render it more lasting, the earl of Hen. III. Leicester made an offer to the prince of Wales of his daughter Eleanor de Montford. This alliance coincided too well with his

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 8:4. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 219.

present and future views to be rejected by Llewelyn.'

THERE is often a turn in human affairs, arising from sudden contingencies, which neither sagacity can foresee, nor power can prevent; and which, if taken up with spirit and wisely conducted, leads on to prosperity, and marks in the agent a considerable degree of political wisdom. Thus Llewelyn obtained in a fortunate moment, by his own spirit and judgment, acting on the nice and peculiar situation of Henry, the sovereignty of Wales, and an extension of territory; objects which many of his ancestors, the most able and brave, had negotiated and fought for in vain.

IN consequence of this treaty, Llewelyn made an inroad into Glamorgan, the territory of the earl of Gloucester; he likewise sent a

<sup>1</sup> Chronica de Mailros, p. 234. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 219.

body of the Welsh to form a junction with Leiceſter, to enable him to extend his quarters, or to force his way through the enemy.' Leiceſter reaped no advantage either from the diverſion made in his favour, or from the Welch forces which had joined him. Having retired to Newport, he was there inveſted by Edward; and was ſo powerfully aſſaulted by that prince, that his ruin muſt have been inevitable, had he not ſtolen away with his army in the dead of night; which, being very ſtormy, favoured the enterpriſe. He had the good fortune to eſcape from the enemy, and to arrive within the territories of Llewelyn. The manner of living to which the Welch were accuſtomed, chiefly on fleſh and milk, and without much bread, not agreeing with his ſoldiers, his army daily conſumed away. To preſerve the remainder, Leiceſter was forced to relinquish the country; and traſverſing through woods and

\* Thomas Wykes, p. 68, 69. *Annales Waverleienſis*, p. 219.

mountainous roads, he at length with much difficulty made good his retreat, and regained his former situation at Hereford.<sup>1</sup>

THE victory obtained by prince Edward A. D. 1265.<sup>2</sup> at the battle of Evesham,<sup>3</sup> gave liberty to Henry his father, and restored the tranquillity of England. But the death of Montford, the enlivening spirit of the whole, was a fatal blow to the confederacy. After some slight resistance, the malecontent barons laid down their arms, and submitted to king Henry; their spirit being entirely subdued, or softened down by the moderation of his conduct. The English monarch had now leisure to look back on the part which had been acted by Llewelyn. He had seen with a jealous eye that prince, through the course

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> The Welsh, who had reinforced the army of the earl of Leicester, accustomed to a more desultory kind of war, fled very early from the field of battle, and were pursued with great slaughter. Henry de Knyghton, p. 2453.



of the war, ably fomenting the discontents, and powerfully assisting the arms of the revolted lords; and it was now determined, before the army was disbanded, that the prince of Wales should feel the whole weight of Henry's resentment.<sup>1</sup>

IN pursuance of this design, the king of England came with an army to Shrewsbury, Llewelyn, without an ally to support him, was not able to resist so formidable an enemy; and rather than to hazard his crown, the lustre of which he had lately restored, upon an issue so precarious and unequal, he thought it more prudent to appease Henry's resentment by an early submission.<sup>2</sup>

A. D. 1267. A TREATY in consequence took place, by the mediation of Ottobani the legate; which marked the mild tenor of Henry's temper, and was more favourable to Llewelyn's interests, than might have been expected from

<sup>1</sup> Brady, p. 663. Matth. Paris, p. 857.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

a fove-

a sovereign, warm with resentment, and giving law to a rebellious vassal, and a suppliant enemy. The conditions of the treaty were the following: That all lands should be restored on both sides, and that the laws or customs of the marches should still be preserved: That Henry should grant unto Llewelyn and to his heirs, the principality of Wales; that they should always be styled the princes of Wales, and should receive the homage and fealty of all the Welsh barons, who were to hold their estates of them in capite; except the homage of Meredyth ap Rhys of South Wales, which the king reserved to himself and his heirs. The king likewise granted to Llewelyn the four inland cantrevs, to hold them in as absolute a manner as ever the king and his heirs had possessed them. For these privileges, Llewelyn, and his successors, were to swear fealty; to do homage, and to perform the usual services, due to the king and his heirs, as they had been paid at any time to the crown of

England; and he was also required to pay to the king twenty-five thousand marks.

A. D. 1267. The peace was concluded at the castle of Montgomery, and ratified by the king in person; and it likewise received, at the hands of the legate, the sanction of the Pope's authority.<sup>2</sup> It is with pleasure that we survey this gallant nation, so long the sport of fortune and the victims of ambition, recover, in some degree, the importance of their station; and, freed at length from the arms of a potent enemy, left to enjoy their freedom, for a season, in the bosom of their native mountains.

A. D. 1268. THE state of affairs in England no longer requiring his presence, prince Edward en-

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Even. Ang. p. 2436. Matth. Westm. p. 164. Rymers, p. 843, 844. Matth. Paris, p. 857, says £32,000. Welsh Chron. p. 327. <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> In this year [A. D. 1270] died Gryffyth the lord of Dinas-Bran, and was buried in the abbey which his father had erected in the Vale of Crucis near Llangollen. Welsh Chron. p. 327.

gaged in a croisade to the Holy Land ; hurried along by that fatal tide, which had for almost two centuries deluged the east. On that elevated stage his splendid talents enabled him to perform a graceful and distinguished part. And during the time that this prince was employed in Syria, in a romantic pursuit after glory, the Welsh nation enjoyed a season of unusual tranquillity ; a delusive calm, which was no more than the presage of impending calamities.

HAVING composed the intestine divisions which had long convulsed his kingdom, and in the bosom of peace, died Henry the third, A. D. king of England. His eldest son Edward,<sup>1273.</sup> 56th year of his at this time fighting in Palestine, succeeded reign. to the throne.

ON the death of the late king, a summons was immediately dispatched by the regency of England to Llewelyn prince of Wales, with orders for him to repair to the Ford of



of Montgomery; and there to take the oaths of fealty and allegiance to the absent king.

A. D. 1273. Llewelyn thought proper to pay no obedience to the summons.<sup>1</sup> And some time after, the

English monarch himself, matured in the arts of policy, and renowned for exploits in arms, returned into his own dominions; where he early entered upon that career of glory, so beneficial to his own empire, but so fatal to Wales.<sup>2</sup>

A. D. 1274.

Soon after the arrival of that prince in London, he was solemnly crowned at Westminster. The king of Scotland, as the feudatory of Edward, did homage to the English monarch; and with the duke of Bretagne, graced the coronation with his presence.<sup>3</sup> To perform the like duties of homage and fealty, the prince of Wales received a summons to appear immediately at Shrewsbury; but he refused to quit his do-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 2, 3. <sup>2</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

minions,

minions, and to venture his safety in the territories of a monarch, so hostile to him, unless hostages were given for the security of his person. The pledges he demanded were Edmund the king's brother, the earl of Gloucester, and the chief justice of England.<sup>1</sup> This refusal was rendered still more disagreeable to Edward, as he was likely to be deprived of another fruit of vassalage; for Llewelyn seemed, at this time, determined to solemnise his marriage with Eleanor de Montford, though he had not obtained the king's consent.<sup>2</sup> The Pope, likewise, appeared so sensible of the justice of his plea, that he inhibited the archbishop of Canterbury from issuing any papal censure against Llewelyn.<sup>3</sup> When the nature of his situation is considered, the caution of the Welsh prince was justified upon the principle of self-pre-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 41. J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Welsh Chron. p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 35. Matth. Westm. p. 171.

servation,

servation. In the bosoms of the two princes, jealousy and hatred had long mingled with the love of glory and the desire of dominion: David and Roderic the younger brothers of the prince of Wales, were entertained in the court of England: many Welsh chieftains, also, who had fled from the justice of their country, were under the protection of Edward; and, influenced by every motive of hope and despair, must have been anxious to promote the destruction of their sovereign: Llewelyn, likewise, too well remembered the fate of his father Gryffyth, to place any confidence in the protection or honour of the English. He surely, then, when interest and hatred conspired his ruin, would have been guilty of folly and rashness in the extreme; if he had hazarded a life, of such importance to his country, on no better security than the courteous ideas of the age, or the fluctuating principles of political integrity.

THE king of England was now in a delicate situation; he was unwilling to relinquish his claim of vassalage, and yet was not at present sufficiently prepared to enforce it by arms. But his genius directed him to pursue a wife and a middle line of conduct. He repaired, late in the year, to Chester, and summoned Llewelyn to do homage at Shrewsbury; but the Welsh prince still continued firm in his refusal to appear without a safe conduct, and hostages for the due observance of it.<sup>1</sup> Early in the next year, a parliament A. D. 1275. was held at Westminster, and the prince of Wales was again summoned to make his appearance in that assembly, and to take the oaths of allegiance.<sup>2</sup> He refused also to pay obedience to this summons, on the grounds which he had heretofore alledged.<sup>3</sup>

ENGAGED in correcting the disorders of the kingdom, and instituting salutary laws,

<sup>1</sup> J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. <sup>3</sup> Holinshed, p. 278.

Edward,



Edward, for the present, affected to dissemble his resentment against Llewelyn; and repairing to Chester, he again summoned the Welsh prince to do homage,<sup>1</sup> who still refused his compliance. He likewise rejected three other mandates of the like nature; one of which was dated in October in the same year, and the two others very early in the year following.<sup>2</sup> To justify these refusals still more, to the clergy and to the world, he sent a memorial by the abbots of Conway and Strata-Florida, to be delivered into the hands of the archbishops of York and Canterbury, and of other bishops who were then assembled in convocation.<sup>3</sup> There is a native simplicity which runs through the whole of this memorial,<sup>4</sup> reciting his grievances and justifying his conduct, which pleads more ably the cause of the Welsh prince,

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Wynn's History of Wales, p. 280. Welsh Chron. p. 329, 330.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix, No. II.

than

than could have been effected by the exercise of the finest talents.

THE tenor of Edward's conduct with respect to Llewelyn, did not delude the sagacity of that prince. He saw, that a blow was meditating by the English king, which, though suspended for a time, would be the more severe, and would fall with greater weight upon his country, from the coolness, the delay, and increasing power of that firm and sagacious monarch.

LLEWELYN, therefore, thought it prudent, at this time, to fulfil an engagement which he had formerly made; and to enter into an alliance with a family, which might yield him support against the formidable power of his rival. In the course of the late war, he had been betrothed to Eleanor the daughter of Simon de Montford, and niece\*

\* Her father Simon de Montford, espoused Eleanor, dowager of William earl of Pembroke, and sister to Henry the third. Matth. Paris, p. 314.

to

to king Henry ; and who, at that time, it is probable, was too young to solemnize the marriage. On the death of her father, the young lady had retired into the monastery of Montargis in France. In this court her mother the countess of Leicester, and her brother the heir of the family, lived in great splendour.<sup>1</sup> The adherents of the house of Montford were still powerful in England ; and the fame of the English monarch, had made him the object of jealousy with the French king. To unite the views of the two parties in support of his interest, or struck with the reputation of her charms, now rising into full beauty, the prince of Wales demanded of the king of France the daughter of the late earl of Leicester. Philip with much facility granted his request ; and Llewelyn waited in impatient expectation of his bride.<sup>2</sup> But the pleasing ideas, which the prospect of his approaching nuptials afforded

<sup>1</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Matth. West, p. 171. Chron.

T. Wykes, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

to Llewelyn, were on a sudden imbittered by disappointment, and lost in the ruder avocations of war.

EARLY in this year, the young lady, who was cousin to the English king, attended by her brother Amaury, a clergyman, set sail for the coast of Wales to solemnize her marriage with Llewelyn; but near the isles of Scilly she had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by four ships from the port of Bristol, and was conveyed to the court of England. Instead of yielding up this lady into the hands of her lover, which the ideas of the age might have suggested, and which prudence too as well as the laws of chivalry demanded, she was detained in the English court in an honourable attendance on the queen.<sup>1</sup> Her brother, likewise, was kept in confinement many years in the castles of Corfe and Sherburn; nor did he at length obtain his liberty, until demanded by the Pope as his chaplain;

<sup>1</sup> *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 231, 232.



and after he had taken an oath that he would relinquish the realm, and would never be concerned in any commotion in the kingdom.

AFTER so decisive a conduct, as the detention of Eleanor de Montford, all lenient measures, and the arts of expediency were weak, delusive and fruitless. Edward now determined to exert every effort, which his power and his talents afforded, to obtain what had long been the object of his ambition or policy, the entire conquest of Wales. Before measures were taken to carry this design into execution, the archbishop of Canterbury, with other prelates and lords of the realm, desired Edward, that as the last expedient, he would afford to Llewelyn one other opportunity of acknowledging the sovereignty of England, and of yielding to its orders unconditional obedience. With this design, the archdeacon of Canterbury was sent into Wales, with an injunction to the

\* Rymcr, vol. II. p. 144, 193, 197.

Welsh prince, that he should appear in the English court, and should there perform the customary duties of a vassal.<sup>1</sup> But at this time Llewelyn was in arms, and had ravaged the English Borders; resenting the late conduct of Edward, and alive to the feelings of an injured prince, deeply wounded by the captivity of his much loved Eleanor.<sup>2</sup>

THE archdeacon of Canterbury was ordered to make his report to the parliament ensuing, which was to be held on the thirteenth of A. D. 1276. October. In the mean time the prince of Wales sent letters to the king, signifying that he would come either to Montgomery or Oswestry to perform his homage; provided a safe conduct was allowed him, under the sanction of the archbishop and archdeacon of Canterbury, the bishop of Winton, and five other English lords.<sup>3</sup> He likewise de-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer vol. II. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Holinhead, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

manded that the king should confirm the articles of peace which had been concluded between Henry the third and himself; and that he should deliver into his hands Eleanor de Montford, the lady to whom he was contracted, as well as her retinue; all of whom, he asserted, had been detained in custody contrary to the faith of nations. These just and simple demands excited in the English parliament a general indignation. They granted a fifteenth of moveables to enable the king to reduce Llewelyn by force of arms; the prelates, likewise, gave him a voluntary subsidy; though their zeal in this instance did not rise above their prudence; as they made a provision, that in future it should not be drawn into precedent. In the presence of the English monarch, sitting in his court, with the lords of his council, the judges, and a great number of bishops, earls, and barons, the whole process was read on November the

Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

twelfth;

twelfth; and sentence was pronounced upon Llewelyn for contumacy, for violation of the peace between him and the late king, and for the hostilities which he had lately committed in the marches. It was there determined to proceed against him as a contumacious vassal, and as a traitor to his sovereign. It was likewise resolved in the same assembly, that all the military tenants of the crown should be summoned to appear at Worcester, on the midsummer following, with horses and arms, suitably equipped for an expedition into Wales; that in the meantime, the marches should be well guarded, and the forts supplied with ammunition; that the king should prohibit all his subjects in England, Ireland, and Guienne, from holding any correspondence with Llewelyn, or his adherents; from giving them any assistance, or supplying them with any provisions; and whoever violated this prohibition, was to be adjudged an adherent to the



public enemies of the king and kingdom, and to suffer accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

THE authority of the church of Rome was not silent on this solemn occasion. In this instance the prince of Wales experienced the versatility of her conduct. The archbishop of Canterbury sent a letter to Llewelyn, and threatened him with the severest censures which the clergy were able to inflict; and a few months after, his person was excommunicated, and his dominions laid under an interdict.<sup>2</sup>

IN the late negotiation, the prince of Wales had offered to the English king a large sum of money as a ransom for Eleanor de Montford. Edward, on his part, refused to restore her, unless the Welsh prince would

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 185, from Pat. 4, Ed. I. m. 6. Rymer, vol. II. p. 72—75.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 71, 79.

reinstate

reinstated the former proprietors in the possession of those estates which he had lately taken from them, and would also repair the castles he had demolished. However ardent his desire of obtaining possession of the lady might be, the duty which he owed to his country prevailed, and Llewelyn rejected the proposal with disdain. Upon which, the two princes proceeded in their preparations for war.

EARLY in the spring, Edward had sent A. D. into the marches a detachment of three hundred horse well appointed, to check the incursions of the Welsh, and to guard the confine.<sup>2</sup> He likewise made Sir Roger Mortimer general of his forces in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and in the adjacent countries. He appointed the first day of July for his military tenants to assemble at Worcester.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1276.</sup>  
2d of  
Edw. I.

<sup>1</sup> Math. Westm. p. 172. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 172. Ibid. p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 72.

THE experience of past ages had proved to the English kings, that a want of public virtue in its chieftains had been the vulnerable part of Wales. To seduce them from their duty at this crisis, was of too much importance to be neglected by Edward. With a view to encourage a defection among the Welsh lords, orders were given to the earl of Warwick, and to Payen de Chaworth, the one commander in Cheshire, and the other in South Wales, to receive into favour such of Llewelyn's adherents, as were willing to submit to the authority, and become the vassals of the king of England.<sup>1</sup> The policy of Edward fatally prevailed. Rhys ap Meredydh the lord of Dinevawr, descended from the ancient princes of South Wales, set the example of disloyalty; on the only condition of holding his territory immediately from the king, and not being subject to any other lord.<sup>2</sup> The defection of so eminent a chieftain as Rhys ap Meredydh, had a fatal

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, p. 72, 81.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 81.

influ.

influence in the country; all the lords in South Wales followed his example; and, as A. D. 1277. a voluntary fruit of their submission, the strong fortress of Stratywy was given up to the English; who, for the better defence of the country, erected a castle at Aberystwyth.

THE æra is now at no great distance which is to mark the close of the ancient British empire. And considering the weak and disunited state of the Welsh, and their unequal resources, the operations of Edward in conducting the war, planned in wisdom and carried on with vigour, must in the nature of things ensure its success.

Soon after Easter, Edward left London to regulate the measures of the ensuing campaign, in the full resolution never to return until he had entirely subdued the Welsh nation. He directed a fleet from the Cinque Ports to cruize on the coast of Wales, with

\* Welsh Chr. p. 334, 336. J. Roff. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

a view



a view of intercepting the commerce of the enemy, and of reducing the island of Anglesey; that the Welsh, by such means, might be deprived of their usual resources of procuring provisions.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he sent a body of troops into South Wales, to reinforce the army under the command of Payen de Chaworth; in order to distract the enemies' attention, and reduce that country to a perfect submission to the English government.<sup>2</sup> Each of these manœuvres produced the desired effect. That the administration of justice might not be delayed, by the absence of Edward, and the length of the war, he removed the court of exchequer, and the court of king's bench, to Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup>

A. D.  
1277.

THESE measures being taken, the king of England, on the Midsummer following, advanced at the head of a large army into

<sup>1</sup> Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 172.

Cheshire;

Cheshire; intending to penetrate the enemies country, through that part of the frontier which borders upon the Dee. His forces were likewise increased by numbers of country people who joined him in the marches; and who, it is probable, were usefully employed as pioneers to the army; in opening roads through a deep forest, which in general extended from the confines of Cheshire to the mountains of Snowdon.<sup>1</sup> During this tedious operation, Edward encamped his forces upon Saltney Marsh, near Chester.<sup>2</sup> While he remained in this situation, he rebuilt the castle of Flint, and more strongly fortified Rhuddlan castle; to secure the country which he had already subdued, and to afford his army a safe retreat, in case he should meet with any disaster.<sup>3</sup> The roads at length being finished,

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wyke, p. 105. Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Brady, vol. II. p. 7. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 888.

<sup>3</sup> Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Thomas Wykes, p. 105.

and

and no enemy appearing to molest them, the English advanced through the level part of the country to Conway. The prince of Wales, unable to resist a powerful enemy, pressing on by slow, cautious, and decisive operations, retired to the mountains of Snowdun. The English monarch, not choosing to enter the recesses of that difficult country, calmly waited the result of his policy.

WITH a fatality which had usually attended the princes of his family, Llewelyn had trusted the safety of Wales to the chance of war, and to the natural strength of the country; which had so often baffled the armies of England, unable to subsist long in a region, broken by rocks and rivers, woods, and barren mountains. Not preparing for contingencies, nor observing the measures of the English king, nor the effects already produced, he had neglected to furnish with ne-

<sup>a</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 173. Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

cessary supplies of provision an important post, to which he and his people, in their deepest distress, might be forced to retire.\* The experience of past ages might have taught him the wisdom of a different conduct. Had he pursued such measures which the nature of his situation required, he might have seen the English army wasting away; and, at the approach of winter, abandoning all its conquests, and leaving him once more in possession of his country. The talents of Llewelyn, at this perilous crisis, sunk under the genius of his rival. There might be strong reasons, however, of which the annals of the times are silent, to excuse in the Welsh prince, a conduct so fatal to his interests.

THE prospect which opened to Llewelyn, upon the mountains of Snowdun, was dreary and desolate. His enemies were masters of the country below, and seemed determined,

\* Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

by



by their perseverance, to starve him into submission. The island of Anglesey, his usual resource for provisions, was then possessed by the English.<sup>1</sup> No diversion could be made in his favour in South Wales or in England, as the former country had lately submitted to Edward's authority; and in the latter, the adherents of the house of Montford<sup>2</sup> were satisfied by having had their forfeited estates restored. The distress of Llewelyn was heightened still more by the prospect of an immediate famine.<sup>3</sup>

Thus surrounded by dangers, he had no better alternative than to implore the mercy of the English king. A magnanimous prince, like Llewelyn, the freedom of his country being lost, would scarcely have wished to survive its ruin; if the sufferings of his people, crowding around him, and perishing by

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 887.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wyke. p. 105.

famine,

famine, had not claimed his pity, and inclined him to hazard his own interests and personal safety from a tender regard to theirs. It is possible, too, the Welsh prince might hope, that in the event of some future day, he might again rise upon the wheel of fortune.

IN this state of his affairs, the prince of Wales sent to propose an accommodation with the king of England. There was little generosity or pity to be expected in the terms which would be offered by Edward. As a first and necessary condition of the peace, it was required of Llewelyn, that he should submit to the mercy of the conqueror.<sup>1</sup> On this basis, the peace was concluded on the following terms; and afterwards ratified, in the absence of the king, at Conway, by the commissioners of the two princes.<sup>2</sup> It was agreed, that all prisoners who were confined by Llewelyn, for adhering to the English cause, should be set

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 95, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

at

at liberty. That the prince should pay to the king fifty thousand marks, as a compensation for the injuries which had been committed, and for being received into favour. That four cantrevs should be given up to the king, and remain with him and his heirs for ever.\* That the adherents of the English king should be restored to all the estates which they had possessed before the war. That the Welsh prince should continue to hold the island of Anglesey, and should pay for that privilege the annual sum of one thousand marks; but if he should die without issue, the island was then to revert to the king and his heirs for ever.† That

\* J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Matth. Westm. p. 873. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 232.—These were the cantrev of Rhos, in which stood the castle of Diganwy; the cantrev of Rhyvonioc, the chief place of which was Denbigh; the cantrev of Tegengl, where stood the castle of Rhuddlan; the cantrev of Dyffryn Clwyd, in which were erected the town and castle of Ruthyn. Welsh Chron. p. 334.

† Chron. T. Wykes, p. 106.

all the barons in Wales should hold their territories immediately of the king, except the five barons in Snowdun, who should acknowledge the prince as their lord during his life. That Llewelyn should come into England every Christmas to do homage to the king. That he should repair to Rhuddlan as soon as he was absolved from the censures of the church, to take the customary oath of fealty to the king; and likewise that he should perform the same duty in London on the day appointed for that purpose. That he should enjoy, during his life, the title of prince of Wales; and that after his death, the five barons of Snowdun should hold their estates of the English king. That for the performance of these articles, the prince should deliver as hostages ten of the most eminent chieftains in Wales. That Llewelyn should send every year twenty chieftains out of North Wales, who, with himself, should take their oaths for the due performance of these articles. If the prince

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should



should infringe any of them, and on being admonished, should refuse to redress the same, they were then obliged by their oaths to forsake his cause, and to take part with his enemies."

As a personal humiliation to Llewelyn, he was likewise obliged to restore to his brother Owen the estate he had forfeited; and to pay Roderic an annuity of one thousand marks, and five hundred to David.\* Owen by this treaty was also delivered from the confinement in which he had been long kept by Llewelyn. His brother Roderic had lately escaped out of prison, and had fled into England. David, whom we have heretofore mentioned, was at this time in the service of the English king, who had made him a knight, contrary to the custom of the Welsh; and had given him likewise in marriage the daughter of the earl of Derby, a handsome

\* *Annales Waverleiensis*, p. 232. J. Roff. Ant. Wart.  
p. 163, 164. Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 90, 91.

\* Rymer, vol. II. p. 88—95.

widow, and of the queen's bed-chamber, whose husband was lately dead. He had been appointed the seneschal, and keeper of all the castles in Wales; and received also from the king the castles of Denbigh, and of Frodsham in Cheshire, with land to the yearly value of one thousand pounds.

THE terms agreed upon at this treaty in favour of the prince of Wales were as follows: That if he should lay claim to estates which were occupied by any other person than the king, out of the limits of the four ceded cantrevs, justice should in that case be administered according to the laws and customs of those parts where such estates should lie. That all injuries and faults committed on either side should be entirely remitted, and should receive a full pardon. That all tenants holding land in the four cantrevs,

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knygh-ton de Event. Ang. p. 2463, 2464.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 335. Rymer, p. 89. Annales Walesiensis, p. 236.

and in other places in the holding of the king, should possess such as freely as they formerly had done, and should enjoy such customs and liberties which appertained to them before the late wars. All controversies arising between the prince of Wales and any other person should be decided by the laws of the marches, if taking their rise in those parts; and any dispute originating in Wales, should be determined by the laws of that country. That the advantage arising out of wrecks, on his own territories, should belong to the Welsh prince; and all other customs should be confirmed to him which had been enjoyed by his ancestors; and although the prince had thus submitted entirely to the king's mercy, it was agreed, that no injury should be committed, nor any demand ever made contrary to the tenor of the peace. The English king, it is true, relaxed in some degree from the severity of the treaty, and remitted to Llewelyn the

\* Welsh Chron. p. 346, 347, 348.

fifty thousand marks, which he was to have paid as a compensation for the ravages committed in the late war; he also remitted the yearly tribute of one thousand marks which he had exacted from the Welsh prince, for the privilege of holding during his life the island of Anglesey.\*

HAVING thus in the late fortunate campaign completed, as he might think, the entire conquest of Wales, Edward returned into England amidst the applauses of his subjects. His pride, no doubt, was gratified, and his triumph received additional lustre, by the attendance which Llewelyn gave him to the English court; where the Welsh prince did homage and swore fealty to him on Christmas day, in the presence of many prelates and of all the nobility of Eng-

\* Rymer, vol. II. p. 91, 92. But it appears from Holinshed, p. 277, that Edward, during his residence at Rhuddlan, received from the prince of Wales two thousand marks.



land. But an incident of no moment in itself, resulting from the late event, and acting with other causes, produced a change in affairs of the highest importance to Wales.

THE barons of Snowdon, with other chieftains of the most considerable families in Wales, accompanying their prince to London, had brought with them large retinues, as was the custom of their country, and who were lodged in Islington, and in the adjacent villages. Many causes conspired to make their situation disagreeable. These places did not afford a sufficiency of milk for such numerous trains: and they relished neither the wine nor the beer of London. Though entertained with plenty, they were not pleased with their new manner of living, which suited neither their taste, nor perhaps their constitutions. They were still more displeased with the crowd of people who at-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 96. Matth. Westm. p. 173. Chron. T. Wyke, p. 106.

tended them whenever they came out of their quarters; eying them with the utmost contempt as savages, and laughing at their foreign garb and unusual appearance.<sup>1</sup> To be made the subject of derision, and to be pointed at by the finger of scorn, in their various journeys through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, could not be pleasing to a people, proud and irascible; and who, though vanquished, were still alive to injury and insult, to a sense of their own valour, and to the fond idea of their native independence. Resenting this treatment, and feeling their dishonoured situation, they privately entered into a resolution to revolt on the first opportunity; determined to die in their own country as freemen, rather than to come any more as vassals into England, to be the sport of a haughty and contemptuous nation.

<sup>1</sup> Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191. from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Thomas Mostyn, baronetti, p. 315.

It was now manifest that Edward intended, on the death of Llewelyn, to unite to the English crown the country which he had lately subdued. A popular delusion stood in the way of his views. An idea had been fondly kept up in the imaginations of the Welsh, that the celebrated Arthur was still alive, that he was one day to return, and restore to the remnant of the ancient Britons the empire of their fathers. To set aside this idle fancy, cherished by the vulgar, and which might have been fatal at this juncture, Edward and Eleanor—his queen, early in the

A. D.  
1278.

year, undertook a journey to Glastonbury, where the remains of that venerated hero lay interred.\* Under colour of doing honour to this British king, and affording his bones a more magnificent interment, Edward ordered the body of Arthur to be taken out of its coffin, and with the remains of Gweniver his queen, to be exposed to public

\* Malmfbury de Antiq, Glaston. Ecclesiæ, p. 306. Gales Scriptores.

view.

view. They were then repositied near the high altar; with an inscription on the coffin, signifying, that these were the remains of Arthur; and that they had been viewed by the king and queen of England, in presence of the earl of Savoy, the elect bishop of Norwich, besides several other noblemen and clergy.' It is easy to discern the policy of this prince even in the smaller traits of his character.

DURING the king's residence at Glastonbury, a parliament was held in that place; at which meeting Llewelyn was summoned to appear, with the probable design, that he and his retinue, having seen the late ceremony exhibited, might not carry into their own country the least hope of advantage, from so vain and whimsical a fancy. To this

<sup>1</sup> Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 187. from Regist. Glastonbury penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93. Annales Warleienfis, p. 233. Stowe's Chron. p. 200. Guthrie's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 889.

summons,



summons, however, the prince of Wales did not think proper to pay obedience.<sup>1</sup>

It is easy to conceive that Edward, alive to his interests and jealous of his power, would be eager to check the contumacy of a vassal in Llewelyn's situation. To enforce his obedience, the king, attended by Eleanor his queen, repaired to Worcester; from whence he sent an order to the Welsh prince to appear at his court, and to account for his late conduct. The rigor of this summons was softened by an invitation to a royal feast which was to be held in that city; with an assurance, too, that he should be treated with honour, and that the lovely Eleanor de Montford should be the reward of his obedience.<sup>2</sup> There was a decision in this mandate, which love would not suffer him to evade, nor prudence to disobey, and which soon

<sup>1</sup> Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 187. from Regist. Glouc. peaces Dom. Weymouth, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 348.

brought

brought Llewelyn to the English court; where a scene was exhibited, from which every eye must turn with disdain, that is directed by a feeling and liberal spirit. The prelude to this scene was the performance of a rigorous ceremony. Being introduced into the presence of Edward, the prince of Wales, fell upon his knees at the feet of that monarch, and yielded himself up to his mercy; he was then commanded to rise, and in consideration of his dutiful demeanour, the king was pleased to pardon his delinquency; at the same time declaring, that if he again presumed to rebel, he should be punished with the utmost severity. Relying on the honour of a great monarch, and duped by his artifice, we see Llewelyn, a prince of a gallant spirit, and the brave descendant of a line of independent sovereigns, become amenable to usurped power.

\* Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

† Welsh Chron. p. 348.

HAVING now succeeded in his views, and, as he thought, having rendered Llewelyn docile in the duties of vassalage, Edward gave him back the hostages which he had lately received; and also delivered up to him Eleanor de Montford, with the estate which had been the property of her father.\* On this occasion, Llewelyn engaged to appear twice in the year before the English parliament.† The marriage was celebrated on the thirteenth

of October, the expence of which was defrayed by Edward; and, as a farther mark of his favour, the ceremony was graced by the presence of the king himself and his queen.‡ But on the very day that the marriage was to be solemnised, and in consequence, as Llewelyn and his bride were going to hear mass, the English king required of that prince

\* Rymér, vol. II. p. 125. Henry de Knyghton de Eventu Angl. p. 2462.

‡ Henry de Knyghton, p. 2462.

‡ Holinshed, p. 277. Thomas Wyke, p. 107. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

that

that he should enter into a covenant, never to protect any person whatever contrary to his pleasure. The rigid sentiments of duty, put to so severe a trial, were too weak to subdue in the bosom of the Welsh prince the feelings of nature. Alive to love and its keen sensibilities, and in fear no doubt for his liberty or life, the firmness of the gallant Llewelyn sunk under their influence. The enamoured prince, besides conceding to other requisitions, signed a covenant; which loosened every tie of confidence, and which might in future give up to the resentment, or to the interested views of Edward, the most faithful adherent to his interests.\* It is only from a motive of personal dislike, for it could not have arisen from any just principle of policy, that we are able to account for the insult which was offered to Llewelyn; in detaining this lady so long in the English court, and impeding the views of honourable love. In these traits of Ed-

\* Welsh Chron. p. 348.

ward's



ward's character, we see no traces of heroism; no resemblance of the courteous manners, which distinguished the most cultivated period of the feudal ages. Llewelyn is a stern and of his nature, as soon as the ceremony was finished, Llewelyn, with his amiable wife, returned into Wales; to soothe the asperity of adversity in the enjoyment of domestic felicity. Few incidents occur at this period in the national concerns of Wales. The spirit of the people, pressed down by the rigour of a foreign government, wanted its usual activity. Regretting the freedom they had lost, but too weak to recover it, they were silent and dejected. But the spirit of the Welsh, though depressed and rendered inactive for a time, urged by despair into manly efforts, will soon recover its native spring; and, armed with its wonted terrors, will exert itself again in the fields of war.

THE calamities of a public nature, which surrounded Llewelyn, were rendered more bitter by domestic sorrow; in the severe loss which he sustained by the death of his wife Eleanor de Montford; who at this time died in child-bed. It seems as if this lady, through her influence with the hostile princes, and by soothing their angry spirits, had given a check to the ravages, and had suspended the horrors of war. Her death loosened the only tie of union subsisting between the two nations.

A. D.  
1280.

WE have already noticed, that the deepest disgust had been excited in the breasts of those chieftains who had attended Llewelyn into England; and that in consequence they had determined to throw off their allegiance. As soon as these chieftains returned, they diffused this spirit throughout Wales, and it

<sup>1</sup> Mills's Catalogue of Honeur, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Baker's Chron. p. 95.

became

became the common cause of the country. Other motives of a nearer and more essential concern, assisted to fix more deeply that spirit. The Welsh, in the newly subdued country, had early begun to taste, in the conduct of their master, the bitter fruits of submission. It was the design of that prince, by one decisive blow, to leave them not a trace of their ancient jurisprudence. When Edward heretofore possessed these countries by the grant of his father, he had thrown them into districts like those of the counties of England; had appointed sheriffs with power to hold courts, had instituted other officers, and had sent English judges to administer justice. On the recent submission of the Welsh, he revived these institutions. It is strange that a wise prince should urge on so violent a conduct, before the lenient power of time had softened their spirits. For to tear up old habits which are dear to a people, is often an enterprise of danger. And when laws are imposed at the point of the sword, they

they are always received with hatred, and must be maintained by force. The Welsh, as was natural, surveyed the design with indignation and horror: Attached to the customs of their fathers, they determined to receive neither laws nor manners, judges nor injuries, nor any institutions which were derived from the English.

THE prince of Wales, in his own person, had cause to complain of injuries the most humiliating and poignant; <sup>2</sup> of which the following was an instance. There was a suit depending between him and Gryffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, respecting an estate which he held of the king, and lying in the marches. He was highly displeased with an order he had received from the judges, to attend the hearing of that suit at Montgomery; \* con-

<sup>1</sup> Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191, from MS. No. 39, later MSS. Roger Moseyn, baronetti, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 346, &c. See Appendix, No. III.

\* It appears that Llewelyn was summoned by king Edward to repair in person to different places, in order to



trary to a custom established in Wales and in the marches, that all causes of this nature should be tried on the very land which was the subject of dispute. The tenor of the late treaty, likewise, justified Llewelyn's refusal. Though the judges sent down were men of honour and integrity, he could not be prevailed upon to repair to Montgomery; concluding that such a measure would yield up an essential article of the peace, and would derogate from his dignity as a sovereign prince.

receive judgment respecting the above-mentioned suit, Welsh Chron. p. 346. And it is highly probable, during this time, that the following remarkable circumstance took place. Edward being at Aust Ferry on the Severn, and knowing that the prince of Wales was on the opposite side, sent him an invitation to come over the river, that they might confer together and settle some matters in dispute. This being refused by Llewelyn, Edward threw himself into a boat, and crossed over to the Welsh prince; who, struck with the gallantry of the action, leaped into the water to receive him; telling the king, at the same time, that his humility had conquered his own pride, and that his wisdom had triumphed over his own folly. See Tour through Great-Britain, vol. II. p. 305. London printed, 1753.

• Rymer, vol. II. p. 172. Leges Walliæ, p. 524.

THE

THE idea that this demand might in future be drawn into precedent, awakened at last prince David to a sense of his own situation, who might hope to succeed to the sovereignty of Wales upon the death of his brother. He had himself already experienced many causes of complaint, of fear, and of jealousy, respecting the property which he held under Edward.<sup>1</sup> He was sued by William Venables, an Englishman, before the justiciary of Chester, for the villages of Hope and Estyn; contrary to the custom of Wales, and the spirit of the agreement under which he had held them of the English king. That officer likewise had cut down his woods of Lleweny, with those about Hope, and had sold the timber and carried it into Ireland. He was also threatened, when Reginald de Grey the other justiciary came into the country, that the castle of Hope should be taken from him, and that his children should be secured as pledges of his fidelity in future.<sup>2</sup> Many

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. IV.    <sup>2</sup> Welsh Chr. p. 350, 351.

chieftains, the most eminent in the country, had likewise much reason to complain of injuries which they themselves had received.<sup>1</sup> The rigorous exactions of the English officers in Wales, partial and oppressive, and repugnant to the manners of the people, heightened their sufferings to an insupportable degree.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1281.

In this season of national misery, when their common fate depended solely upon a virtuous union, the Welsh chieftains besought prince David, that he would be reconciled to his brother Llewelyn; calling on him by every incitement which might act upon a brave or an angry spirit, to desert the cause of a merciless ravager, to retrieve the honour he had lost, to return to the duty which he owed his country, and to shield her in the hour of her danger. The sentiments of David were agreeable to the wishes of his countrymen, and

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. from p. 351 to 363.

<sup>2</sup> Math. Paris, p. 805. Welsh Chron. p. 336.

his

his present views congenial with their own. Feeling for those miseries which in some measure, he himself had produced, and a ray of patriotism springing up in his bosom, he consented to be reconciled to his brother, and to engage in the common cause.<sup>1</sup> Sensible of the peril which awaited him, if success did not justify the revolt; or too suspicious of Llewelyn to confide in his firmness, he required from that prince an assurance that he would never again yield obedience to the English king, nor would ever relax in his enmity against him.<sup>2</sup> This condition being agreed to by Llewelyn, prince David withdrew privately from the court of England, and arrived with safety in Wales.<sup>3</sup>

THE concert being made for a general insurrection, David opened the campaign by a gallant exploit, which was performed late in the evening of Palm Sunday. In the night,

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Polidore Virgil, p. 323.

which

Q 3



which was dark and stormy, he took by surprise the castle of Hawarden; the governor of which, Roger de Clifford, and who was also the justiciary of Wales, was taken in his bed; and, mortally wounded, was carried away prisoner in chains to Snowdun; several knights residing in the fortress, though unarmed, were put to the sword in the fury of the storm. After this action, the two brothers Llewelyn and David, having joined their forces, invested the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan; the only fortresses which were then in the possession of the English. These exploits were regarded as the signals of revolt. The Welsh, rising from every quarter, in a moment were in arms. The spirit of their fathers seemed to animate every bosom, Rhys ap Maelgwyn and Gryffydd ap Meredith surprised the castle of Aberystwyth, and ravaged the present counties of Caerdigan

<sup>2</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464, says, that they slew all the masons, carpenters and other workmen employed in these fortresses.

and

and Caermarthen. Many chieftains, likewise, obtained possession of other fortresses in South Wales. Numerous parties of the Welsh, all on fire for revenge, poured on a sudden upon the marches of England; and, like the inundations of their native rivers, in rapidity and violence, spread all around devastation and ruin.

AT this time the king of England was at the Devizes, where he was keeping his Easter; not suspecting the event which had happened, nor fearing the efforts of an irascible people, whose feelings had been urged into a dangerous extreme. The revolt of the Welsh princes determined the conduct of the English monarch. Instead of waiting the slow issue which time, or luxury, or mildness might produce, he once more determined to make an entire conquest of Wales; and totally to extinguish that spirit of freedom, which, rising at times into dan-

\* Thomas Wykes, p. 110. Holinshed, p. 281.

gerous exertion, not all the efforts of his policy and power had as yet been able to subdue. All other concerns were now laid aside; the credit of Edward, his talents, and the strength of his kingdom, were rendered subservient to this great design.

Previous to his military operations he dispatched letters to the two archbishops, commanding them to issue spiritual censures against the Welsh prince, and all his adherents.<sup>1</sup> John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury, before he proceeded to extremities, unknown to the king, as it is said, and apparently in the true spirit of benevolence, undertook a journey into Wales; to endeavour to recal Llewelyn, and the Welsh chieftains, to a sense of their duty.<sup>2</sup>

In the mean time, Edward sent a part of his forces to the relief of those castles, to

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 323. Holinshed, p. 281, Welsh Chron. p. 338.

which

which the Welsh princes had laid siege; and he also issued out orders that his military tenants should assemble at Worcester, on the seventeenth of May.<sup>1</sup> He obtained from the nobility and prelates a promise of a fifteenth of their moveables, and afterwards a thirtieth.<sup>2</sup> The clergy, likewise, gave him a twentieth of their temporalities, to enable him to carry on this popular war.<sup>3</sup> As these aids could not be raised so soon as the service might require, he borrowed money of all the trading towns in England, which was to answer his present necessities; and he desired a like loan out of Ireland from the merchants, the prelates, and nobility of that kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Such was the esteem in which Edward was held, that Gaston de Bern<sup>5</sup> desired to have the honour of serving in the

<sup>1</sup> Brady, vol. II, p. 6. Grafton's Chr. p. 165. Chr. T. Wykes, p. 110. Rymer, vol. II. p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Brady, p. 111, 96.

<sup>3</sup> Carte's Hist. Eng. p. 192, from Chron. Dunstable.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 220,      <sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 206.



Welsh expedition; and even the Scots, on this occasion, offered their services; little thinking that they themselves would soon become the victims of that prince's ambition. The barons of the exchequer, and the judges of the king's bench repaired to Shrewsbury, with orders to hold their courts in that town during the continuance of the war.\* A nation like the Welsh, small in extent, and scattered over a few barren mountains, rise into importance as we view these mighty preparations.

A. D.  
1282.  
8th of  
Edw. I.

As soon as he had concerted his measures, the king of England began his march, at the latter end of April, for the confines of Wales. Finding that the war was likely to become more difficult than he had at first conceived, he issued out summonses from Worcester, that all his military tenants should meet him at Rhuddlan in the ensuing month

\* Guthrie, vol. I. p. 895.

† Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235.

of June; the prelates of England, and twenty-four abbots holding of the crown, were also included in these orders to send thither their services.<sup>1</sup>

EDWARD, on his march to Chester, was joined by the country people who inhabited the Borders, and whom he employed as before, in opening roads through the enemies country.<sup>2</sup> After staying a fortnight in Chester to refresh his troops, he invested, about the middle of June, the castle of Hope. This fortress, which for some time had been in David's possession, was yielded up to the king, almost as soon as he appeared before it.<sup>3</sup> On the approach of Edward, the Welsh princes raised the siege of Rhuddlan castle, and retreated slowly towards Snowdun; thinking it more prudent to seize every opportunity of cutting off his detached parties, than with unequal force to fight him

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 188, 199.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 193, from *Annales Cædrensis*.

in

in the open field.<sup>1</sup> The retreat of Llewelyn, for the present, was of little advantage to the enemy; like that of a lion, it was slow, fullen, and full of danger. Seising a favourable opportunity, he put to flight a detachment of the English army; fourteen ensigns were taken in the action; the lords Audley and Clifford, the son of William de Valence, Richard de Argenton,<sup>2</sup> with many others were slain; and the king himself, defeated and in disgrace, was obliged to retire for protection into Hope castle, the fortress he had lately taken.<sup>3</sup>

It was not until the latter end of autumn, that Edward was able to perform any action of moment. In the middle of July that prince resided in the castle of Rhuddlan; and issued orders from thence to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties, to send him, in

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 337. <sup>2</sup> Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 372, from Thomas Walsingham, Camden's Brit. p. 688.

proportion to the extent of each, a number of hatchet men; who were to cut down the woods, and open passages for his army, before it could advance any farther with convenience or safety.<sup>1</sup> He also gave grants to several of the English barons, of land in the four cantrevs, the late ceded country; adding the incitement of interest to the national zeal in his service.<sup>2</sup>

DURING these transactions, the archbishop of Canterbury had come, a second time, into Wales; and had sent a monitory letter to Llewelyn and to all his adherents; in which he reproved them for their late revolt, urged them to return to their allegiance, and desired that they would point out their grievances; for all of which, if justly founded, he would endeavour to obtain them redress. At the same time he held out a menace, that in case of contumacy, they would draw upon them-

<sup>1</sup> Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 895.

<sup>2</sup> Annales Waverleienfis, p. 235. Welsh Chron. p. 364. selves



selves the severest censures of the church, besides all the power of an irritated nation.<sup>1</sup>

IN answer to this letter, Llewelyn, assisted by his council, thought proper to send a memorial dated from Aber,\* in the latter end of October.<sup>2</sup> In a strain of eloquence, mild and persuasive, and which might do honour to a more polished age, he recited the various evils which he himself and his country had sustained from Edward's ambition, and the rapine of delegated power; and with a firmness, softened by piety and meekness, he demanded that justice, from the rights of nature, and from the spirit of the treaties subsisting, which the king of England had hitherto denied him.<sup>3</sup>

THE like memorials were sent by David the brother of the Welsh prince, by the men of Rhos, by Rhys Vychan of Strath-Tywy,

<sup>1</sup> J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 116. Welsh Chron. p. 338—342. See Appendix, No. V.

\* *Garth Celyn.*      <sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. VI.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 340—350.

by

by Llewelyn and Howel the sons of Rhys, by the sons of Meredydh ap Owen, by the chieftains of Strath-Alyn,\* by the men of Penllyn, by Gronw ap Heilyn, and by the nobles of Englefield.† It was likewise declared by Llewelyn and his council, that if their grievances were redressed, if their native laws and rights were preserved, and if their safety in future might depend upon the tenor of the late treaty, that they were willing to enter into a lasting peace with England.‡ There is a force in these recitals, thus arranged and authenticated, expressive of the wretched situation of the Welsh; all of them complaining of injuries, of the violation of treaties, and of the power of the *mighty* over the *weak*.

As soon as Llewelyn and the Welsh chieftains had delivered these memorials, in justi-

\* *Ystrad Alun*.

† See Append. No. VII—XV. Welsh Chr. p. 350—364.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 343, taken from the Records of Canterbury.

fication

fication of their revolt, the archbishop returned to the king; and urged that prince to attend to their complaints, and to redress their wrongs; or at least, he desired, that the idea of these complaints being justly founded might in some measure extenuate their faults. The answer returned by the English prince was, that though there was no excuse to be found for their conduct, yet he was still desirous of doing justice to their complaints. Availing himself of an answer, which carried with it the appearance of mildness, the archbishop requested the king that the complainants might have free access to his presence, to unfold their griefs, and to plead their own cause. The reply which Edward made was dark and evasive, and unworthy of so great a prince; he said, “that they might freely come, and depart, if it should appear, that in *justice* they ought to re-  
“ turn in safety.”

\* Welsh Chron. p. 363, 364.

ON

ON the strength of this answer, arbitrary as it was, and the deepest danger lurking within it, the archbishop repaired again to Snowdun, to renew the negotiation with the prince of Wales; in hopes of prevailing on him, by proper submission, to avail himself of what that prelate conceived to be, or might wish to represent as the gracious disposition of the king. Llewelyn and his council were not caught in the snare which was laid for their safety. They clearly saw into the designs of the English monarch. They saw, at this moment, all that was dear to men and to citizens at stake; their lives, their families, their country, its liberties and laws, with the customs of their fathers: and they saw, too, that this was the crisis for manly resistance.

IMPRESSED with such sentiments as these, it was not likely that any argument, delusive or friendly, which was in the power of the

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 364.



archbishop to offer, could accomplish his views, or could shake the firmness of Llewelyn and his council. After much conference on the subject, debated with a spirit and seriousness suited to its importance, he was desired by the prince of Wales to return to his sovereignty, with this generous and manly declaration ; “ that, as the guardian of his people’s safety, his conscience alone should direct his submission ; nor would he consent to any compliance which might derogate from the dignity of his station.” We easily conceive that the pride of Edward was wounded, and his indignation excited by a reply, so little expected, though so worthy of a patriot prince. On its being reported to the English king, he declared ; “ that no other terms should be in future offered to the Welsh, than the entire and unconditional submission of Llewelyn and his people.”

Welsh Chron. p. 364.

SENSIBLE

SENSIBLE that the prince of Wales would never recede from the resolution he had formed, the archbishop of Canterbury interceded with the king, that on a subject of such weighty concern, he might have a conference with those noblemen, who at that time were present in the English army. Edward consented that such a conference should be held; the result of which was, that three separate proposals should be sent to the Welsh princes, and to their council, as the only basis on which any peace could be established.

DURING this negotiation, the prince of Wales remained in his palace at Aber; and the Welsh army, it is most probable, was stationed on the heights above upon Penmaen Mawr.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> It was considered as the strongest fortification which the Welsh possessed in the mountains of Snowdon, and capable of containing 20,000 men. See Camden's Britan. Gibson's edit. p. 673.

THE first of these proposals, which was ordered to be read in public before the two princes and the chieftains assembled in council, signified; that no treaty whatever could take place respecting the island of Anglesey, the four cantreys, and the estates which were already granted by the king to the English lords; that if the tenants of those cantreys should think proper to submit to their sovereign, they should, in that case, be treated in a manner becoming the *majesty* of the king. In respect to Llewelyn, no terms whatever were offered to him; he was to yield himself up without any condition.'

THE second proposal was to be presented in secret to the prince of Wales, and was no doubt intended as a snare to his honour.<sup>1</sup> It was there proposed, that he should yield himself up to the mercy of Edward, and should quietly relinquish the possession of Snowdon;

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. XVI. Welsh Chron. p. 364, 365.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. XVII.

as a cordial, however, to be thrown into the bitter cup, the English nobility promised to prevail, if possible, with the king, that he should provide for Llewelyn's daughter suitably to her station; that he should allow him one thousand pounds a year, and a respectable county in England. If that prince should marry again, and should have heirs male, they promised to entreat the king, that this annuity, and the said county, should be settled on those heirs for ever; and that the king should also provide for the adherents of the Welsh prince, in a manner suitable to their estates and conditions.<sup>1</sup>

THE third proposal was intended to seduce or to intimidate David from his duty; and was ordered, that in the like manner, it should be read to that prince in secret.<sup>2</sup> If he would consent to take the *Cross*, and to go into the Holy Land, he should have a provision made

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 365. See Appendix, No. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. XVIII.



for him agreeable to his quality ; on the condition, however, that he should *never* return from thence unless he should be recalled by the king ; and as a farther inducement, the negociators also promised to entreat their sovereign, that he should provide in a suitable manner for his daughter.\*

THE concessions expected from Llewelyn, the singular requisition made to prince David, and the general submission demanded from all, were enforced by the terror of ecclesiastical censures ; and in case of disobedience, a menace was thrown out, that the Welsh nation should be entirely exterminated. Such were the conditions of peace proposed by an interested nobility ; and wanting as they did the sanction of Edward, though immediately formed under his influence, they were mean, perfidious, and arbitrary ; or, at least, they carried with them a dark and suspicious aspect.

It was not in the nature of Llewelyn, when the dearest concerns of his people were

\* Welsh Chron. p. 366.

mingled with his own, to entertain an idea of interest exclusive of theirs, or to engage with the common enemy in any secret intercourse, or partial negotiation. The proposals sent by the archbishop, were openly discussed in the presence of Llewelyn, of his brother David, and of the chieftains who composed his council. The result of which was, that three different memorials should be returned to that prelate, which would declare their sentiments of the terms which had been offered; and would convey to the English monarch their last, solemn, and decisive determination.

IN a stile of simplicity which might have carried conviction to the mind, the prince of Wales informed the archbishop; 'that the terms he had brought, were neither honestly intended, nor could they be safely confided in; that though he himself, through weakness or interest, should be inclined to

\* See Appendix, No. XIX.

listen to the separate advantage proposed, his people and all the chieftains in Wales, aware of the mischievous tendency, would refuse their consent; as not being bound to yield up their rights to any mean compliance in their prince: He desired likewise, as the means of establishing an honest and durable peace, that the archbishop would have respect to the memorials which were then sent by himself and by his council: He said too, that it would have been more honourable to the king, and more agreeable to reason, if he had been permitted to continue on the land of his fathers, rather than that his territories should be wrested from him, and should be given to foreigners.\*

With a force of reasoning, resulting from a manly and discerning spirit,<sup>a</sup> the Welsh chieftains who formed the prince's council, declared; that no peace could be made, unless

\* Welsh Chron. p. 368.

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix, No. XIX.

the four cantrevs were included in the treaty; as they had always belonged to the princes of Wales from the earliest period of their history; and were also confirmed by the sanction of the Pope, and by the treaty with Henry the third. The tenants of those cantrevs likewise declared, that they did not dare to submit to the king; as he had neither kept covenant, nor oath, grant, nor charter, with the prince, nor with his people. Llewelyn's council told the archbishop, that they themselves, for these reasons, were afraid to come into the presence of the king; much less would they suffer their prince to hazard his personal safety: They rejected also the annuity of one thousand pounds, as being offered by men, who were attempting to wrest from Llewelyn his hereditary dominions, and which they were desirous of enjoying themselves: They said, that it would neither be consistent with prudence nor his duty, for their sovereign to relinquish his native demesnes, and to accept of other territories



tories in England; unacquainted as he was with its laws and customs, its language and manners: That he must likewise hold those estates, situated amidst his enemies, on a very precarious tenure: They added, likewise, that it was not probable, that the king, desirous of taking from him his barren inheritance in Wales, would long allow him to enjoy the cultivated land of England: They declared, that they would not suffer their prince to give up to the king the possession of Snowdun, appertaining to his sovereignty from the earliest times, and meanly to accept of what might be thought an equivalent in England: The people of Snowdun, also, declared; that though Llewelyn should relinquish his own rights, that they themselves would never do homage to foreigners, with whose habits of life they were entirely unacquainted; lest they should be as cruelly treated as the inhabitants of the four cantreys had been; a recital of whose injuries had already been sent to that prelate.

prelate.<sup>1</sup> The spirit of a free constitution, in restraining the will of the sovereign, is diffused through the whole of this interesting memorial.

THERE is something peculiarly touching in the memorial sent by prince David.<sup>2</sup> He said, that when he felt himself disposed to visit the Holy Land, his motives should be pure and voluntary; influenced by a spirit of piety, and not enforced by the arbitrary will of another. Devotion that is forced, he said, is displeasing to God; and, if ever he should undertake such a journey, his posterity should be rather rewarded for their father's piety, than that they should, on that account, have their inheritance taken from them. It was not the Welsh, he said, who were the movers of the war; no lust of avarice, no rage for conquest on their part began it; they had only defended their own country, their liberties and laws, against the avarice, the cruelty,

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 368, 369. See Appendix, No. XX.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. XXI.

and

and hatred of the English king and his people, For the truth of which, he solemnly appealed to God; calling on him to avenge their wrongs, and to vindicate their cause. He forbad the archbishop to fulminate his censures against any but those who had been the cause of these enormities; and as the Welsh had suffered such evils at the hands of the king's officers, he hoped that they should receive at *his* hands remedy and comfort.

"Very many do marvel," said he, "that  
" *you* do counsel us to leave our own land,  
" and go to other men's lands among our  
" enemies to live; for as we cannot have  
" peace in our own country, what reason  
" have we to hope that we shall remain in  
" quiet in that of our enemies? Though it  
" be hard to live in war and danger, it is  
" still more hard," said he, "to be utterly  
" destroyed, and be brought to nothing.  
" The fear of death, the fear of imprison-  
" ment, the fear of having our estates torn  
" from us; no keeping of promise, cove-  
" nant,

“ nant, grant, or charter, in short, a most  
 “ tyrannical dominion, are among the many  
 “ causes which urge us to war.” To the  
 remedy of these evils he desired of the arch-  
 bishop his pious and charitable aid. He  
 concluded this moving address, by saying,  
 “ If any person in England offends the king,  
 “ his estate is not taken away; if one of  
 “ our own people should commit a fault,  
 “ let him be punished agreeably to justice,  
 “ but not entirely to his ruin. As we trust  
 “ in *you*, we pray you, holy father, to  
 “ labour to this end. If they lay to our  
 “ charge that it is we who have broke the  
 “ peace, it is evidently clear, from facts,  
 “ that it is they, and not we, that are in fault;  
 “ they who never kept promise, or covenant,  
 “ or order, or made any satisfaction for  
 “ trespasses, or remedy for our complaints.”<sup>1</sup>

It is with pity and admiration that we see a

<sup>1</sup> These memorials were taken from the Records of John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury, who was Edward's ambassador on this occasion. Welsh Chron. p. 371.



band of heroes and patriots, stationed upon their only mountain, calmly and with firmness asserting their rights, and making their last struggle for freedom. The scene is solemn and interesting; and, in many points of resemblance, presents the image of Leonidas in the Straits of Thermopylæ.

ALL conference was now at an end; the late negotiation had clearly shewn that the sentiments of the two powers were entirely incompatible. No longer pursuing, in the spirit of benevolence, the rights of this injured people, the archbishop of Canterbury pronounced them accursed, and thundered against them the whole force of ecclesiastical judgments.<sup>1</sup>

DURING these transactions, the roads being opened, and his reinforcements arrived, Edward about the first of November left Rhuddlan,<sup>2</sup> and advanced to Conway; near

<sup>1</sup> J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110.

which

which town he stationed his army in advantageous situations. His horse were encamped on the plains which lay at the foot of the mountains of Snowdun; with a view of securing the avenues of the country to the east and to the south; and the infantry were posted on the sides of the hills under cover of the woods. The treaty being ended, and not able to bring the enemy to action, Edward ordered a strong detachment of marines and other forces, in the vessels of the Cinque Ports, to take possession of Anglesey. The manœuvre was wisely planned; the success of which would not only deprive the Welsh of the advantage of that island, as a source of provisions, but would also confine them in narrower limits; and by dividing their attention, would facilitate his entrance into the country. This service was performed with all imaginable success; the island was easily taken; the chief persons in it having supported the interests of Edward, agreeably

1 Polidore Virgil, p. 323 Holinhead, p. 281.

to the oaths which they had taken at the late peace.<sup>1</sup> With a view of obtaining possession of the mountains upon the rear of the enemy, or of forming a junction with the other part of the army, in the very heart of their country; preparations were made to pass the water of Menai, which runs between Anglesey and the coast of Caernarvon.

THERE is a point of land, nearly opposite to Bangor, called Moel-y-donn, where the water is much narrower than in other parts of the Straits. From this place, the English formed a bridge of boats which were chained together, and over which a platform of boards was raised, wide enough for sixty men to march in front.<sup>2</sup> To counteract this design, the Welsh threw up entrenchments, at some distance, on their side of the river;

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 371. P. Virgil, p. 324. J. Ross. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 372. Holinshed, p. 281. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

to check the enemies advance, and to secure the passes into their mountains.<sup>1</sup> Before the bridge was entirely finished, a party of English, attended by the Gascon lords, who, with a body of Spanish troops, were then in the service of Edward; despising the Welsh for the easy conquest of Anglesey, passed over the Menai at low water, with a considerable force; to reconnoitre their works, or to give a display of their own valour. Richard ap Walwyn, who commanded in these posts, knowing that the tide would soon flow, and cut off the enemies retreat to the bridge, remained quiet within his entrenchments; and neither opposed their passage, nor molested their advance up into the country.<sup>2</sup> As soon as the Menai had risen so high, as to prevent any communication with the island, the Welsh in great multitudes rushed down from the moun-

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 372. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi.



tains; assaulted the enemy with loud outcries, and pursued them with great slaughter into the water; in which many were drowned, encumbered with the weight of their armour. Fifteen knights, thirty-two esquires, and one thousand common soldiers were slain, or perished in the Menai. Among others who fell in this day's disaster, were Lucas de Taney the leader of the foreign troops, William de Dodingeseles, and William de la Zouch. The lord Latimer, who commanded the English in this detachment, had the good fortune to recover the bridge by the stoutness of his horse.'

THIS disaster was a severe check to the views of Edward. His situation was now become critical, humiliating, and dangerous

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 281, says that only two hundred foot soldiers perished. Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi. Welsh Chron. p. 372. Polidore Virgil, p. 344. Hen. de Knyghron Event. Ang. p. 2464. Matth. Welsh. p. 176.

Besides the loss he had sustained, the winter was in advance: his two armies could have no communication by land; the design, likewise, of a diversion was rendered impracticable. The Welsh, high in spirits, and masters of the defiles, were strongly entrenched on their mountains; the castle of Snowdon was filled with soldiers, and furnished with plenty of provisions; and they had seen, too, that even Edward and his foreign troops, with all their stratagems of war, were not invincible. This success they regarded as a presage of future prosperity. Their hopes began to revive, and their views to extend; which were heightened still more by a prophecy of Merlin, long cherished among the Welsh; that Llewelyn should one day wield the sceptre of Brutus, the supposed founder of their empire.<sup>1</sup> It is possible,

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Gratton's Chron. p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9. Matth. Westm. p. 176. Annales Waverlicienfis, p. 235.

too, that the Welsh prince, himself, might indulge the same hopes, from a like delusive source, the prediction of a soothsayer. When he first began the revolt, he consulted an aged woman, who was a reputed prophetess, respecting the issue of the war; who advised him to pursue the enterprise with spirit, and assured him also, that in the event he would ride through Cheapside in London with a crown upon his head.

IN this state of things, unable to advance, and too proud to relinquish the design, Edward retired to Rhuddlan.<sup>1</sup> From this place, A. D. on the twenty-fourth of November, he  
1282. issued out summonses to the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the following effect.  
“Whereas Llewelyn, the son of Gryffyth,  
“and other Welshmen his accomplices, our  
“enemies and rebels, have so often, in the  
“times of us and our progenitors, disturbed  
“the peace of England, and do still con-

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

“tinue

" tinue in the same course; and for that,  
 " by the advice of our great men, and  
 " the whole community of the land, we  
 " propound finally to repress their re-  
 " bellion and instability, so as it shall not  
 " be in their power to disturb the peace of  
 " the nation when they please, although  
 " that it seems to be a very great charge,  
 " and a most difficult undertaking: We  
 " therefore command that you cause to come  
 " before us on the twentieth of January,  
 " at Northampton, or before our commis-  
 " sioners, all those of your bailiwick that  
 " have twenty pounds a year, and upwards,  
 " who are able and fit to bear arms, and  
 " who are not present with us, in our ex-  
 " petition against the Welsh; and four  
 " knights of each county, for the commu-  
 " nity of the same counties, having full  
 " power from them; and also of every city,  
 " borough, and market town, two men  
 " for the commons of the same; to hear  
 " and do things, which, on our behalf, we



“ shall cause to be shewn unto them.” The like precept was sent to the sheriff of every county in England; with this difference only, that the people, so ordered by the writs of the counties of York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaster, were to assemble at York. The clergy and prelates of England were also required to perform their services, in carrying on this necessary war. The nature of these precepts, and the warlike appointments so extensive, mark the eager spirit of Edward, as well as the idea which that prince entertained of the difficulty and importance of the enterprise. But an event happened soon after, sudden and unforeseen, which closed with glory the life of Llewelyn, and decided the fate of the Welsh nation.

THE earl of Gloucester, assisted by Sir Edmund Mortimer, had been sent with an army into South Wales, to reduce that

Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

country.

country; and to check the depredations of Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffyth ap Meredith, the two chiefs who had taken up arms in favour of Llewelyn, and had ravaged the present counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. These chieftains, a little time before, had been defeated by the earl of Gloucester, near to Llandeilo-Vawr, with the loss only on the enemies part, in persons of note, of five knights, and of William de Valence, cousin to the English monarch.\*

THE late success of the Welsh, in the action of the Menai, had set on fire their enthusiastic spirit; they considered it as a miracle which had been wrought in their favour. Confident, on the faith of the ancient prophecies, that in the person of Llewelyn, the empire of their fathers would be restored; they urged that prince to act with intrepidity, to seize this fortunate mo-

\* J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 372.  
Humphrey Lluyd's Breviary, p. 60.

ment, and to assault the English in their turn, separated and dispirited by the loss which they had lately sustained.' Llewelyn thought this an enterprise of too much importance, to engage in it without farther reinforcements; which he was not without hopes of receiving, as he had entered into a large correspondence with many of Edward's subjects in the marches, and in South Wales.

In hopes, by these means, of drawing together a great body of troops, to enable him to strike so decisive a blow; or by his presence to re-animate his party, he determined to go into South Wales. Thinking the quarter of Snowdun safe for the winter, he left his brother David to guard the passes of those mountains; and the prince of Wales himself, with a body of forces, marched to the aid of his adherents who favoured his cause

<sup>1</sup> Matth, Westm. p. 176. P. Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 897.

in that country;' where, having overrun the territories of Caerdigan and Strath-Towi, he ravaged the estates of Rhys ap Meredydh.<sup>1</sup>

THE king, having intelligence of the sudden movement of the Welsh prince, dispatched orders to Oliver de Dineham, and other noblemen in the west, to pass over the mouth of the Severn to Caermarthen, and to give their support to his generals in that country.<sup>2</sup>

LLEWELYN, having so far succeeded in his enterprise, proceeded with his forces to the cantrev of Buellt; where, by agreement, he was to hold a conference with some of the lords of that district.<sup>3</sup> As he had not any thing to fear from the southern quarter, his only anxiety was to secure the principal pass into the country, that no danger might arise from the north. With this design,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. *Annal. Waverleienfis*, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. *Math. Westm.* p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> J. Roffi. *Ant. Warw.* p. 165. *Welsh Chron.* 373.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 223. <sup>4</sup> *Welsh Chron.* p. 373.

having



having posted the main part of his army on the summit of a mountain, near the river Wye; he stationed a body of troops at a bridge, called Pont Orewyn, which commanded the passage over that river.<sup>1</sup> Having thus secured himself, as he thought, from the sudden attack of any enemy; the prince of Wales, unarmed, and attended by his esquire alone, proceeded into the valley, where it had been agreed upon that the conference should be held.<sup>2</sup> There is every reason to suppose that the design was betrayed by the very lords whom Llewelyn had appointed to meet.<sup>3</sup> In a moment after his departure, the bridge was attacked by John Gifford, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, at the head of a body of men who were natives of Buellt; the latter nobleman, or his father, being lord of that country.<sup>4</sup> The post was maintained

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

<sup>3</sup> Humfrey Lluyd, p. 59. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 373.

with

with such spirit by the Welsh, that the English lords were not able to make any impression, until Helias Walwŷn, who was probably a native of the country, decided the contest; by pointing out to the enemy a passage through the river, though somewhat dangerous, which lay below, at a little distance from the bridge.\* A detachment was sent under the conduct of Walwŷn, to ford the river; and with some difficulty they made good their passage. Affaulted in the front and rear, the Welsh relinquished their post; and the remainder of the English army passed over the bridge.†

THE prince of Wales, all this time, was waiting in a small grove, the place which had been appointed for the meeting of those chieftains, with whom he was to hold the conference. On the enemies first assault, his esquire came to inform him that he heard a

\* Holinshed, p. 283. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

† Ibid.

great

great outcry at the bridge. The Welsh prince enquired with eagerness if his soldiers were in possession of that post; and being informed that they were, he calmly replied, "he then" "would not stir from thence, though the" "whole power of England was on the other" "side of the river." This confidence, not improperly placed, lasted only for a moment; the grove being in an instant surrounded by the enemies horse.\* Befet on every side, and cut off from his army, Llewelyn endeavoured, as secretly as he could, to make good his retreat, and to join the troops which he had stationed on the mountain; who, drawn up in battle array, were eagerly expecting the return of their prince. In making this attempt, he was discovered, and closely pursued by Adam de Francton, an English knight; who, perceiving him to be a Welshman, and not knowing his quality, plunged his spear into the body of the prince of Wales, being

\* Welsh Chron. p. 374.

unarmed and incapable of defence.<sup>1</sup> This being done, regardless of the person he had wounded, Adam de Franc<sup>ton</sup> instantly joined his own army, which was then ascending the mountain to dislodge the enemy from their post.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh, on this occasion, were steady, and acted with great spirit; neither animated by the presence of their prince, nor dispirited by a knowledge of his fate. They poured upon their enemies, as they advanced up the mountain, a shower of arrows and darts; but the English, having placed bodies of archers in the intervals of their horse, annoyed them in their turn, and at length obtained the summit.<sup>3</sup> The action continued doubtful for more than three hours, and was maintained on both sides with great resolution and valour,<sup>4</sup> until at length the Welsh were obliged to give way, were entirely de-

<sup>1</sup> Henry de Knyghton, p. 2464. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 60. Welsh Chr. p. 374. Holinshed, p. 281.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinshed, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

feated,



A. D. 1282.  
8th of Edw. I.

feated, and left two thousand men,\* a third of their number, dead on the field. This action happened on the tenth of December.†

ALL this time Llewelyn had lain upon the ground, faint and almost expiring. He had just life enough remaining to ask for a priest; and a white friar, who chanced to be present, administered to the dying prince the last sacred duties of his office.‡

THE hurry of the action having ceased, Adam de Francton, now at leisure, returned into the valley to strip the person he had wounded. On viewing the body, which was still breathing, it was found, to the great joy of the English army, that the dying person was no other than the prince of Wales.†

\* Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 194, from Chron. Dunstaple.

† Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

† Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 897. Welsh Chron. p. 374.—The following is the account preserved by tradition amongst the inhabitants of Buallt respecting this event. Llewelyn had posted his army

Upon stripping Llewelyn, there were found in his trousers his privy seal, and a paper

on a hill near Mochryd, a village about three miles below Buallt, on the south side of the Wye. On the north side of the river, two miles below Buallt, the prince had a house called Aberedwy, to which he came for the purpose of conferring with some chieftains of the country. During his stay there, he was alarmed with the approach of some English troops, who probably had intelligence of his situation. The prince, to extricate himself from the danger that threatened him, caused his horse's shoes to be reversed, to deceive his pursuers, as the snow was on the ground : but this circumstance was made known to the enemy, through the treachery of the smith ; and they followed so closely, that Llewelyn had but just time to pass the draw-bridge at Buallt, which being drawn up secured his retreat. In the mean time, the English troops posted at Aberedwy, had information of a ford a little lower down, called *Cefn Fawm Bach*, which they crossed, and by that means came between Llewelyn and his army stationed at Mochryd. The only means of safety that now offered was to secrete himself. But the enemy were so diligent in the pursuit, that the Welsh prince was soon found in a narrow dingle, in which he had concealed himself, three miles north of Buallt, and about five miles from his army ; and which place, from this event, was called *Cwm Llewelyn*. After Llewelyn was killed, they cut off his head, and buried him near the spot ; and at some subsequent period a house was erected over his grave, which goes by the name of *Cefn-y-Bedd*, or the top of the grave.

that

that was filled with dark expressions, and a list of names which were written in a kind of cypher; a letter or two was discovered at the same time, all of which evidently proved he had engaged in a confederacy with several lords, who were Edward's subjects in the marches.<sup>1</sup> A transcript of these was sent by Sir Edmund Mortimer to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was then in Pembrokehire; and who transmitted them immediately to the king, as a necessary precaution to guard against their designs. But that prince thought it not prudent to make any farther inquiries; being desirous of not adding to a flame, which he thought must now die away of itself.<sup>2</sup> No sooner had Llewelyn expired, than his head was cut off by Adam de Francſton; and, as a gift of high value, was presented to the king, who at this time resided in the abbey of Conway.<sup>3</sup> The body of the prince of Wales lay unburied for some time; though

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

his friends were very solicitous that it might be interred in consecrated ground. The lady Matilda Longespee also, among others, interested herself for a decent interment. This indulgence, small as it was, was not allowed; until the dead body of the Welsh prince had received absolution from the archbishop of Canterbury, under the pretext that he had shewn signs of penitence, by having desired the assistance of a priest in his last moments.

THUS died Llewelyn ap Gryffyd, after a reign of thirty-six years, leaving only one daughter.\* The historians of the times are silent

\* Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

† It appears, that the daughter of Llewelyn, and the daughter of his brother David, were confined in a nunnery in England; as an order was sent by Edward, seven years after the death of their parents, to Thomas de Normanville, to enquire minutely into the state and safe custody of the said princesses. Rymer, vol. II. p. 429. This daughter of Llewelyn, and of Eleanor de Montford, called Catherine Vol. II. T Lackland,



silent respecting the character, or the personal qualities of this prince. But the conduct of his life was the best illustration of his character. And if the valour of Llewelyn, his talents, and his patriotism, had been exerted upon a more splendid theatre, on the plains of Marathon, or in the Straits of Thermopylae, his name would have been recorded in the classic page, and his memory revered, as an illustrious hero, and as a gallant assertor of the rights of nature. But no trophies have been raised to celebrate his fame. The vindictive spirit or policy of his conqueror, found an interest in burying amidst the ruins of freedom, almost every trace, or monumental record, which might preserve the memory of

Lackland, was sent by Edward, attended by her nurse, to be educated in England. She was afterwards married to Malcolm earl of Fife. Llewelyn is also said to have had a son of the name of Madoc; but he must certainly have been illegitimate, as that prince had been only once married. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310. It is most probable, that David's daughter remained in England, and died a nun.

this

this prince, or perpetuate his glory. Gratitude, however, could pay no tribute so expressive, as the tears which his country poured upon the tomb of their fallen sovereign. An elegy composed by a Bard who lived in his court, in wild and in plaintive notes, and with a seemingly prophetic spirit, finely expresses their sorrow and despair. "The voice of lamentation is heard in every place, as heretofore in Camlan.—The copious tears stream down every cheek; for Cambria's defence, Cambria's munificent lord is fallen.—Oh Llewelyn, the loss of *thee* is the loss of all.—At the thought of *thee* horror chills my blood, exhausts my spirits, and consumes my flesh.—Behold how the course of nature is changed! How the trees of the forest furiously rush against each other!—See how the ocean deluges the earth! How the sun deviates from his course! How the planets start from their

\* The place where the great Arthur was slain.

“ orbits !—Say, ye thoughtless mortals, do  
 “ not these things portend the dissolution of  
 “ nature ? — And let it be dissolved.—Let  
 “ kind heaven hasten the grand catastrophe.  
 “ —Let a speedy end be put to the incurable  
 “ anguish of our spirits : since now there is  
 “ no place to which we, miserable men, may  
 “ flee : no spot where we can securely dwell :  
 “ no friendly counsel : no safe retreat : no  
 “ way by which we can escape our unhappy  
 “ destiny.”

\* Gryffyd ap yr Ynad Cóch wrote the poem from which  
 this passage is extracted ; and if it were possible for a translation to transmute half the excellence of the original, it would shew that the Bard was equally inspired with the true spirit of poetry, as affected by the fate of his beloved prince.

## HISTORY OF WALES.

### BOOK IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAVID AP GRYFFYD  
TO THE ENTIRE CONQUEST OF WALES, AND  
THE DEPARTURE OF EDWARD OUT OF THAT  
COUNTRY.

THE closing scene of the last book presented an interesting spectacle. We there saw a gallant and a patriot prince, after many efforts to preserve the freedom of his country, falling in the conflict, and finding an honourable grave in its ruins.

As soon as the head of Llewelyn was brought by Adam de Francton to the English king,



A. D. king, that prince sent it to London; and  
 1282.  
 8th of  
 Edw. I.

with a novel and a savage spectacle, it was ornamented with a silver circle,<sup>1</sup> and placed upon the pillory<sup>2</sup> in Cheapside; in ridicule of the prophecy of Merlin, that Llewelyn would one day wear the crown of Brutus. In contempt also of the late prediction of the soothsayer, that this prince would ride through Cheapside crowned with a silver diadem,<sup>3</sup> his head was encircled with a wreath of ivy;<sup>4</sup> and, being fixed on the point of a spear, was carried through the streets by a horseman; it was then placed upon the highest turret in the Tower of London, where it continued for a long time.<sup>5</sup> To insult the remains of a fallen enemy, and a sovereign prince, by devices which were mean and vindictive, and more suited to the leader of a tribe of Arabs

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464.

<sup>2</sup> Guthrie, vol. I. p. 897.

<sup>3</sup> Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. <sup>4</sup> Matt. West. p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> Holinshed, p. 281.

than a great monarch, denotes a mind in Edward insensible of true greatness, and a spirit little softened by civilized manners.\*

The late prince, as the central spring, had drawn into one point the strength of the nation, had directed its movements, and had given them force and energy; but the spring being broken, all the parts became disunited, without motion, spirit, or efficacy. There is a kind of palsy which for a moment seizes upon the mind, when the hand of affliction strikes deep, and the blow comes unexpected. Before the Welsh had time to emerge out of that state of insensibility into which they had sunk on the death of Llewelyn, the king of England ordered his forces to make a farther advance, and to surround

\* This stricture is not designed to be applied in general to the character of Edward; it is only intended to mark, and with merited justice, the animosity and revengeful spirit, with which, to the last, he pursued the gallant but unfortunate Llewelyn.

them more closely. His own army invested Snowdun on the side of Conway;<sup>1</sup> his troops in Anglesey, not having hitherto dared to make good their passage over the Menai, had now leisure to finish the bridge, and to penetrate the country on the side of Caernarvon;<sup>2</sup> a body of forces, also, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, completed the investiture on the quarter towards South Wales.<sup>3</sup>

A. D.  
1283.

DAVID, all this time, in possession of the castles and strong holds of the country, not chusing to risque a general engagement, remained quiet within his posts. Regarding himself as the sovereign of North Wales, on the death of his brother, he summoned the Welsh chieftains, his subjects, to meet him

<sup>1</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshed, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 59. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. II. p. 194. from Chr. Duntstaple, Ant. Cestrensis.

at

at Denbigh;\* where he intended to hold a consultation on the common interests of his country, at this dangerous crisis. He afterwards renewed hostilities against the English, and appeared fully determined to vindicate his rights.<sup>1</sup> There was a fortress, called the castle of Bere, very strong by art and nature, and which was situated in Snowdun, in the midst of a morass; was accessible only by a single causeway, and not to be approached but through narrow and rugged defiles. This fortress David had provided with a strong garrison.<sup>2</sup> But so sunk in despair were the Welsh, as if all hopes of retrieving their fortunes had died with Llewelyn, that even this castle was surrendered to the king, after it had been closely invested

\* *Dinbech*, the present town of Denbigh.

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

<sup>2</sup> This fortress was probably the castle which is situated near the Lake of Llan Beris, the ruins of which still remain, and is called Castell Dolbadarn. Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

for



for some time.<sup>1</sup> No farther resistance was made; every other fortrefs was immediately yielded up.<sup>2</sup> The Welsh, confounded and in dismay, fled on every side, to shelter themselves in caves, within the recesses of rocks, and in the deep woods of their country.<sup>3</sup>

THE passes being now left unguarded, Edward stationed his horse at the foot of the hills; and leaving in each defile a body of troops to cut off the enemy as they attempted to escape, he himself, with the remainder of his army, penetrated the recesses of the mountains. In this service he was much assisted by the foreign troops in his army;<sup>4</sup> who, having been accustomed to serve in a mountainous country, advanced with greater facility, set fire to the houses, and

A. D.  
1283.

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Matth. Westm. p. 176. Carte, p. 194, from Chr. Dunstaple; and Annales Cœtensis, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshed, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464.

slew

slew great numbers of the Welsh, discovered in the secret recesses of the country, or flying to such places for concealment.<sup>1</sup>

THE people who inhabited the Snowdon mountains being now entirely subdued, Edward collected his scattered army, and spread over the more level parts of the country, of which he easily made himself master; and the miserable natives, in despair and unresisting, were slaughtered without mercy. More than three thousand perished in the carnage.<sup>2</sup> Prince David, unable to make any resistance, was carried along the torrent which overwhelmed his country; and he was obliged to conceal himself and his family in woods and marshes, and in other places of security.<sup>3</sup> He remained some months in this situation, almost famished through the want of provisions; during which time, urged by

<sup>1</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshed, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed, p. 282. Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

strong

strong necessity, he frequently issued out to make depredations.<sup>1</sup>

IN this state of consternation, all union having been dissolved by the conquest of their country, the Welsh no longer resisted the incitements which were offered to private advantage, or to personal safety. It was therefore an easy matter for Edward to corrupt some of David's retainers. These are supposed to be Eineon ap Ivor, and Gronw ap David, with their sons; who, in the night of the twenty-first of June, surprised the Welsh prince and his family in a morass, into which they had fled for security.<sup>2</sup> The unfortunate David and his wife, his two sons and seven daughters,<sup>3</sup> were brought prisoners to Rhuddlan castle, where the king

<sup>1</sup> *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238. Carte, from *Annales Cestrenfis*. Chron. Dunstaple, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 247. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238. Thomas Wyke, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable that all these children were illegitimate, excepting one daughter.

then

then resided.<sup>1</sup> When that prince was taken, a relic was found upon him, called the *Croffeneych*,<sup>2</sup> supposed to be a part of the real *Cross*, highly venerated by the princes of Wales; and which was delivered to the king, with other relics, by one of the above-mentioned chieftains.<sup>3</sup> David requested that he might be admitted into the king's presence. This indulgence was denied him.<sup>4</sup> Inflexible in the design he meditated, Edward refused his repeated solicitations; unwilling that his own firmness should be put to the test, which the recollection of former inter-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 177. T. Wyke's Chron. p. 112, says only his wife and two sons. Holinshed, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> This relic, St. Neots had brought into Wales from the Holy Land, and was voluntarily delivered up to the king by a secretary of the late prince of Wales. J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the above relic, the crown of the celebrated king Arthur, with many precious jewels, were about this time presented to Edward. See *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238. Rymer, vol. II. p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

course



course might soften; or afraid lest he might be melted into pity, and in consequence his justice be disarmed, by an interview with a captive prince, who had fallen in the noblest cause, in the defence of the rights of his country.

THE Welsh prince was confined a close prisoner in Rhuddlan castle, and soon after sent in chains to Shrewsbury.<sup>1</sup> On the captivity of David, Rhys Vychan, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, surrendered himself and his followers to the earl of Hereford, who delivered them up to the king; by whose orders Rhys was sent to London, and loaded with chains, was imprisoned in the Tower.<sup>2</sup> All the other Welsh chieftains, following his example, yielded up their castles, and submitted to the English king.<sup>3</sup> One victim remained to feel the weight of Edward's severest vengeance.

<sup>1</sup> J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverlicienſis, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Wyke, p. 111. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. J. Roffi. p. 166.

As David had been made a baron of the realm, Edward determined to proceed against him as a subject of England. With this view, he summoned eleven earls and one hundred barons, to open the process at Shrewsbury on the thirtieth of September, and to sit in judgment at his trial; the king himself presiding in person.<sup>1</sup> By this court the prince of Wales was doomed to die as a traitor;<sup>2</sup> a sense of interest, and the desire of pleasing their sovereign, influenced the decision of the judges, and silenced the claims of justice and humanity. There was something singular in the sentence pronounced against him by John de Vaus,<sup>3</sup> the chief justice of England. He was condemned to five different kinds of punishment. To be drawn at the tails of horses through the streets of

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 247, 248. Matth. Westm. p. 177.

*Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Wyke, p. 111. Matth. Westm. p. 177. J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Guth. Hist. England, p. 898.

Shrewsbury

Shrewsbury to the place of execution, because he was a traitor to the king, who had made him a knight. To be hanged, for having murdered Fulk Trigald, and other knights in the castle of Hawarden. His heart and bowels to be burned, because those murders had been perpetrated on Palm Sunday. His head to be cut off. His body to be quartered, and to be hung up in four different parts of the kingdom ;<sup>1</sup> because he had conspired the death of the king in several places of England.<sup>2</sup> This sentence, cruel in the extreme, the rigour of which had refined into novelty, was executed in all its severity. Such was the pleasure which the death of David gave to the English, that the citizens of York and Winchester contended, with a savage eagerness, for the right shoulder of this unfortunate prince. That honour was decided in favour of Winchester ; and the remaining quarters were sent, with the ut-

<sup>1</sup> See *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, p. 195. from Chron. Dunstaple.

most

most dispatch, to the cities of York and Bristol, and to the town of Northampton.<sup>1</sup> To feast still more the eyes of the people, his head was sent to the tower of London, A. D. 1283. and being fixed on a pole, was placed near to the head of his brother Llewelyn.<sup>2</sup> Every generous idea, and liberal sentiment, seem to have been extinguished in national hatred, and in the frenzy of joy which had seized on the English.

THE death of David closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire; an empire, which through various changes of fortune, had opposed the arms of imperial Rome; and, for more than eight hundred years, had resisted the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

THE fall of nations, distinguished only by misfortunes, or only illustrious for con-

<sup>1</sup> *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> *Matth. Westm.* p. 177. *T. Wyke*, p. 111. *J. Roffi.* p. 166. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.



quests, may raise for a moment a sigh of pity, or the transient effusions of applause. But a people like the Welsh, satisfied with their mountains, who had been forced into a long and unequal contest, in defence of their native rights, with few other resources than their valour and a fond attachment to their liberties, though falling in the ruins of their country, will have a claim on the esteem, and excite the admiration of the world, as long as manly sentiment and freedom shall remain.

BUT, in reflecting on the history of this nation, with a just and discriminating spirit, we have been frequently led to survey its manners and national character, with the opposite emotions of pleasure and disgust. We are not, however, to estimate that character, too nicely, by the standard of civilized judgement. It is true, there were traits in the genius of that people, marking in their manners the deepest ferocity; it is true,

true, that caprice and levity and the spirit of discord, too often decided in their councils, and governed their conduct; and it is also true, that striking defects may be traced in their policy and laws, ruinous to themselves, and disgraceful to a less cultivated period. But the vices of an uncivilized people, are in some degree softened, and even balanced by their virtues. A spirit unsubdued by danger and misfortunes, hospitable manners and eager friendships, a high relish for the arts of music and of poetry, with a principle of justice inherent in their laws, are qualities to be thrown into the opposite scale. And no doubt the influence of these, blending the lighter with the darker shades, softened the asperity of ruder features, and tempered into a milder mass the colouring of the whole. But the spirit of freedom and an ardent love of their country, were the distinguishing traits in their character. These were the animating springs of their genius, and enabled that people to sustain, through

a long succession of ages, the most striking reverses of fortune; and it is the collision of such vicissitudes, by calling into exertion public virtue and heroism, which gives dignity to the character of man, and constitutes the true glory of a nation.

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EDWARD having at length obtained the point of his ambition, by the entire conquest of Wales, annexed that country to the crown of England. As the leading principle in the politics of Edward, we have seen him pursue this object, with that vehemency of spirit, and unremitting ardour, which so highly distinguished his character. The features of the English monarch, we confess, have hitherto appeared harsh, severe, and disgusting; but then, we have only seen them at the moment, when they were inflamed with anger, or roughened by opposition.

position. The contest being ended, and the Welsh no longer resisting his power, the violence of his spirit began to subside; and, except a few starts into natural fierceness, we shall see him in future, with a milder influence, bringing into action the great talents which he really possessed.

To secure the obedience of the newly subdued country, and to fix its government upon the solid basis of equal laws, and the participation of common rights, Edward at this time introduced into Wales the whole system of English jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup> He divided North Wales into counties; he appointed sheriffs, coroners, and other officers in each;<sup>2</sup> the county courts to be held once a month, and those of the sheriffs twice in the year; he settled also the forms of writs, with the methods to be used in law proceedings, which were to be carried on and decided within the

<sup>1</sup> Brady, vol. II. p. 11. Matth. Westm. p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Baker's Chron. p. 101. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.



principality ; it being expressly provided that the Welsh should not be sued for debts and trespasses in any town of England.<sup>1</sup> With this design, Edward took up his residence at the castle of Rhuddlan, where he instituted a body of laws under the title of the Statute

A. D. 1284.  
of Rhuddlan.<sup>2</sup> From hence he issued out a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Wales, that he would receive them under his protection ; giving them assurances, at the same time, of enjoying their estates, their liberties, and properties ; and that they should also hold them under the same tenures as they had heretofore held them under their native princes.<sup>3</sup> This liberal offer was carried into

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<sup>1</sup> Leges Walliæ, p. 531—536. Appendix,

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 542. Welsh Chron. p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> See Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 33. This valuable memoir, besides being the history of a private family, not only deduces with greater accuracy the pedigrees of several of their princes, but, likewise, illustrates the manners of the Welsh, as well as the miserable situation of that people, during the dark period which succeeded the conquest. This work was written by

Sir John Wynne of Gwedir, a native of Meirionnydd, and

de-

immediate execution. The king of England, with much moderation and wisdom, reserving to himself only the same rents, duties, and services, which had always belonged to the princes of Wales. Inquisitions were made into these rights by an order of the king; their particular nature was ascertained, and determined by the verdicts of juries who were composed entirely of Welshmen. The rents which had been heretofore paid by the inhabitants of Anglesey were much reduced in consequence; as they had formerly yielded one thousand marks annually to Llewelyn, but afterwards only paid four hundred and fifty pounds a year to the English princes.'

THE country being thus subdued, as a check to any future incursions of the Welsh,

descended from the Royal House of North Wales. The world is indebted for its publication, and the ingenious notes annexed to the work, to the learned and judicious antiquary, the Hon. Daines Barrington.

' Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 196.

U 4

Edward

Edward erected the castle of Conway,<sup>1</sup> on the site of the ancient monastery; the religious of which, a society of white monks, he removed to an abbey which he founded at Maenan near Llanrwst; and whom he afterwards transplanted to Vale Royal in Cheshire, where he built an abbey of the Cistercian order.<sup>2</sup>

THE archbishop of Canterbury also came at this time into Wales, with a view of conciliating the minds of the Welsh clergy; by redressing their grievances, and by repairing the churches which had been damaged in the disorder of the late times.<sup>3</sup>

THE English king had already built a strong fortress at Conway; and as a farther check to insurrections which might arise in the quarter of Snowdun, he erected the

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

castle of Caernarvon; supplying each of those fortresses with suitable garrisons.<sup>1</sup> With the same view of curbing the Welsh, and as a reward to the English nobility who had served him in the war, he now gave the lordship of Denbigh, or he might confirm what he had formerly granted, to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln; and the lordship of Ruthin to the lord Reginald de Grey; he gave estates, likewise, to many of the other English barons.<sup>2</sup> He erected Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwyth, and other towns into corporations; granting them great privileges; to encourage trade, and to allure the Welsh from their mountains and wilder habits, into a more sociable manner of living. He would likewise have removed the See of St. Asaph to Rhuddlan, if he could have obtained the Pope's consent.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 196.



THE sudden introduction of English customs into Wales, though softened by lenient measures and directed by a liberal spirit, was not likely to suit the inclinations of a people, who were sore with injuries, and highly incensed at the late transactions. An event followed soon after, which had no tendency to soothe the spirits of the Welsh, or to conciliate their affections.

AMONG other causes of that ardent spirit, with which this people had so long maintained their independence, the English king must have known that their Bards had been the principal springs of action. To silence that voice which might revive ancient ideas, and rekindle in the Welsh their love of freedom and native fire; Edward commanded that all the bards in Wales should be hanged by martial law, under pretence that they had incited the people to sedition. This edict, more cruel than the proscriptions of the Roman triumvirate, continued in all its

its rigour to the end of the reign of Henry the fourth;<sup>1</sup> during which period, interest and hatred conspiring its ruin, this ancient and celebrated *Order* was nearly exterminated.<sup>2</sup> In this transaction, however, no claim to originality is due to Edward. Philip of Macedon, when treating with the Athenian state, demanded as a condition of peace, that all the orators, the promoters of the war, should be delivered into his hands. An impartial recital of events, however it may fully the fame of an illustrious character, is a justice which we owe to truth, and to the manes of an injured people.

IT may not be improper, at this period of their decline, to open to the reader a short history of the Bards; a race of men, who

<sup>1</sup> Statutes at large, 4 Henry IV. Cap. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 62.

posses-

possessed, for many ages, so great an influence over the genius of the Welsh nation ; inspiring them with hospitable manners, and with the sentiments of freedom and of glory.

THE bards derived their origin from remote antiquity, and were ever held in high estimation. Mankind have been early led to poetical compositions. Agreeable sounds would strike at first every ear, but poetry was necessary to give those sounds a lasting effect. Verse was made use of to preserve the memory of remarkable events and great actions. The religious ceremonies of nations, their manners, and rural labours, were also recorded in numbers. Hence it was that Greece could boast of a Homer, a Hesiod, and of many other poets, several ages before an historian had written in prose. Among the Gauls also, and other Celtic nations, there were poems composed on various subjects from the earliest ages.

\* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 384.

It is difficult to fix the etymology of the name *beirdb*, unless derived from *bâr*, which signifies *fury*; and, no doubt, has some analogy to that poetic fury, or enthusiasm, with which the poets fancied themselves, or might feign to be inspired.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus is the first author among the ancients, who makes mention of the bards, as composers of verses; which they fung to the harp and other instruments of music; celebrating the praises of heroes, or chaffing vicious characters with satirical invectives.<sup>2</sup> Ammi-  
anus Marcellinus says, it was the province of the bards to sing, in heroic verse fet to musical notes of the harp, the atchievements of illustrious men. There is a passage of Possidonius, cited by Athenæus, which describes the Celtic princes going to war, having bards in their train; who celebrated the

<sup>1</sup> Richard's Welsh Dictionary, from Festus. Baxter's Glossary, p. 34. Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

praises



praises of their chieftains in verse, which they sung to the people.<sup>1</sup>

GREAT respect was paid by all the northern nations to their bards; as they not only published their renown to the world, but consigned their fame to posterity. It is said, that this *Order* of men were never guilty of flattery, and never lavished their praises on heroes, nor even on kings themselves, unless deserved by their gallant exploits.<sup>2</sup>

THOUGH the *Order* of the bards was common to the Celtic nations, no vestige of them remains but among the Welsh, the Irish, and the descendants of the ancient Caledonians.

ON the invasion of the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, and on the decline of the British empire, many poetical compositions

<sup>1</sup> Evan Evans *Dissertatio de Bardis*. J. Lelandi *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Mallet, vol. I. p. 384.

were

were destroyed, with other ancient records; hence the writings of the bards, and those of the early historians are exceedingly scarce. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of prince Mervyn, is the first of the British historians, who mentions the bards. He says, that Talhaïarn was famous for poetry; that Aneurin, and Taliessin, Llywarch-hen and Chian, flourished in the sixth century. Of these bards, the works only of three are extant; those of Aneurin, of Taliessin, and Llywarch-hen. The writings of the other bards being lost, we can only bring Nennius as an evidence in their praise; who asserts, that the bards of his age were men of excellent genius.<sup>1</sup> The poems which are extant contain many things deserving of notice, and throw a great light upon the historical events of that age. At the same time they are difficult to be understood, owing in part to the carelessness

<sup>1</sup> Evans *Dissertatio de Bardis*.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lelandi *Comment. de Script. Britannicis*, p. 4.

of

of transcribers, and in part to the language itself, become obsolete from its very great antiquity. Aneurin, to whom his country gave the honourable distinction of *Myrchdeirn-Beirdb*, or monarch of the bards, in a poem entitled Gododin, relates that he had been engaged in a battle against the Saxons. Taliesin, called likewise *Pen-Beirdb*, or the prince of the bards, resided at the courts of Maelgwyn Gwynedh, and Urien Reged prince of Cumberland.<sup>1</sup> Llywarch-hen, or the aged, who was kinsman to the last mentioned prince, had been himself a sovereign in a part of Cumbria, and had passed his youthful days in the court of king Arthur.<sup>2</sup> There are extant some manuscript poems of his, wherein he recites that he was driven by the Saxons into Powys; that he had twenty-four sons, all of whom were distinguished by golden torques, and that they all died in defence of their country. Besides those already mentioned, there were

<sup>1</sup> Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

<sup>2</sup> Musical and Poetical Relics, by Jones, p. 6.

other

other bards who flourished during this period; the most eminent of whom was Merddin Wyllt, who composed a poem called *Afallenau*, or the Orchard.\*

From the sixth to the tenth century it is difficult to meet with any of the writings of the bards, owing, it is probable, to the devastations of war, and to the civil dissensions among the Welsh.

SUCH was the respect in which the bards were held; that it was enacted by a law of Howel Dha, that whoever should strike any one of this *Order*, must compound for the offence, by paying to the party aggrieved one fourth more than was necessary to be paid to any other person of the same degree. The election of the bards was made every year, in an assembly of the chieftains and princes of the country; in which they were

\* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.



assigned precedence, and emolument suitable to their merit; but the bard most highly distinguished for his talents was solemnly chaired, and had likewise a badge given him of a silver chair.<sup>1</sup> This congress of the bards was usually held at the three royal residences of the princes of Wales; the sovereign himself presiding in that assembly.<sup>2</sup>

THERE were three different classes of this order in Wales. The first was called *Beirdd*, and were the composers of verses and odes in various measures; it was necessary that these should possess a genius for poetry, and also that their genius should be tinged with a high degree of enthusiasm. They were likewise the recorders of the arms of the Welsh chieftains, and the repositories also of the genealogies of families. This class was accounted the most honourable, and was high in the public estimation. The second class,

<sup>1</sup> Evan Evans *Dissertatio de Bardis*.

<sup>2</sup> Jones's *Musical Remains*, p. 14.

called *Minstrels*, were performers upon instruments, chiefly the harp and the crwth.<sup>1</sup> The third were those who sung to musical instruments in general, and were called *Datgeiniadaid*.<sup>2</sup>

IN the reign of Gryffydd ap Cynan, a law was enacted to ascertain the privileges of the minstrels and bards, and to restrain their licentious manners. This statute prescribed the emoluments each was to receive, as well as the persons on whom such emoluments were imposed. It was likewise enacted, that neither the minstrels nor the bards should lead the lives of vagabonds, nor should sing verses in houses of public resort; that they should not be intoxicated with liquor, nor be quarrelsome persons, nor be addicted to women; and that they should neither be thieves themselves, nor should be the com-

<sup>1</sup> The musical instruments in use among the Welsh were the *teign* or harp, the *crwth* or crowd, the *pißgorn* or pipe, the *tabwrdd* or tabret, and the *corn buclin*, cornet or bugle horn. See Jones's Musical Remains, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh-Chron. p. 192.

panions of such; they were prohibited likewise from entering into any house, or making satirical songs on any person, without the licence of the parties concerned. If a minstrel or a bard should violate these restraints on their conduct, by a singular and unexampled severity, every man was made an officer of justice; and was authorised not only to arrest and to punish discretionally, but to seize upon whatever property the offender had about him. This statute, the severity of which in some degree points out its necessity, has been frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by several commissions directing the better regulation of the *Order*.\*

FROM this time, under the auspicious protection of the Welsh princes, many excellent bards arose. Meilir, who was the bard of Gryffydd ap Cynan, was also employed in a military character, and was sent by that

\* Welsh Chron. p. 192.

prince to transact a negotiation in England. Gwalchmai the son of Meilir, in a poem entitled *Gorboffedd*, says with much exultation, that he had defended the marches of Wales against the English. Cynddelw *Brydydd-Mawr*, or Cynddelw the Great Bard, was a person eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powys.

From this period, to the death of that great prince the last Llewelyn, several bards flourished of distinguished talents; the most eminent of whom was Llywarch-Prydydh-y-Moch, who has celebrated in many odes the victories of Llewelyn the Great; likewise Dafydd Penfras, Daniel ap Llofgwrn Mew, and Llewelyn Fardd ap Cyward. Cotemporary with these flourished Philip Brydydh, who was an eminent bard in Caerdigan.

THE  
About the year 1176 Rhys ap Gryffyth, descended from the royal house of South Wales, made a great feast in the castle of Abertcivi during the Christmas holidays; which



THE talents of the Welsh bards were not solely employed in preserving the descents of families, in the praise of heroes, or in recording their illustrious actions.\* They sometimes in plaintive numbers mourned over the tomb of the fallen warrior.

WE offer to the reader, as a specimen of this kind of poetry, the following translation of an Elegy which was written by Llywarchen, a British bard of the sixth century, on the death of Cynddylan prince of Powys.

He had caused to be proclaimed throughout Britain a long time before. Agreeably to this invitation, many strangers resorted to his castle, and were entertained by him with much honour and courtesy. Besides deeds of arms, and other amusements, Rhys had caused all the bards in Wales to repair to the meeting; and placing them on chairs in the hall of the castle, he ordered them to exercise their several talents in opposition to each other, appointing great rewards to those who excelled in their several professions. In this contest, the bards of North Wales carried away the prize, and the musicians of Rhys's own household were adjudged to have excelled in the powers of harmony. See Welsh Chron. p. 237.

\* J. Lelandi Comm. de Scriptoribus Britann. p. 5.  
Comq

Come forth and see, ye Cambrian dames,  
 Fair Pengwern's<sup>1</sup> royal rooofs in flames !  
 The foe the fatal dart hath flung  
 (The foe that speaks a barb'rous tongue,)  
 And pierc'd Cynddylan's princely head,  
 And stretch'd your champion with the dead,  
 His heart, which late, with martial fire,  
 Bade his lov'd-country's foes expire  
 (Such fire as wastes the forest hill)  
 Now like the winter's ice is chill,

O'er the pale corse with boding cries  
 Sad Argoed's<sup>2</sup> cruel eagle flies ;  
 He flies exulting o'er the plain,  
 And scents the blood of heroes slain.  
 Dire bird ! this night my frightened ear  
 Thy loud, ill-omen'd voice shall hear ;  
 I know thy cry, that screams for food,  
 And thirsts to drink Cynddylan's blood.

No more the mansion of delight,  
 Cynddylan's hall is dark to-night ;

<sup>1</sup> Now Shrewsbury, then the chief residence of the  
 princes of Powys.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient name of Powys,

Nor more the midnight hour prolongs  
 With fires, and lamps, and festive songs.  
 Its trembling bards afflicted shun  
 The hall, bereav'd of Cyndrwyn's son.<sup>1</sup>  
 Its joyous visitants are fled;  
 Its hospitable fires are dead:  
 No longer, rang'd on either hand  
 Its dormitory, couches stand:  
 But all above, around, below,  
 Dread fights, dire sounds, and shrieks of woe.

Awhile I'll weep Cynddylan slain,  
 And pour the weak, desponding strain;  
 Awhile I'll soothe my troubled breast:  
 Then, in eternal silence rest.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cynddylan was the son of Cyndrwyn.

<sup>2</sup> This Elegy was translated into English verse by the Rev. John Walters, master of Ruthin school, and late fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, to whose elegant taste, and judicious knowledge of the Welsh laws, the author has been much indebted. The like acknowledgement is due to the Rev. John Lloyd, rector of Caerwaes, from whose friendly attentions this work has received very considerable advantage. This gentleman, who possesses a critical judgment in the antiquities of his country, as well as an extensive knowledge of its history, is lineally descended from the princes of the house of Powys.

TYRANNY

TYRANNY having erected her banner in Wales, by the cruel policy of Edward, in the massacre of the bards; that ancient seat of music and of poetry was deserted by the muses; and in consequence was deprived of those fascinating arts, which softened, at the same time that they invigorated the genius of the people.

DURING the spirited, and for a while, the prosperous insurrection of Owen Glendwrwy, the muses revisited their native seats; encouraged by the munificence of that leader, and animated by the transitory ray which had dawned upon freedom. Among the number of those bards who appeared at the court of Glendwrwy, was Jolo Goch, who celebrated in a high strain of eulogy, the magnificence and the victories of his patron. At the same time flourished Dafydd ap Gwylim, a native of Caerdigan.

THE



THE Welsh, having made the last effort for their expiring freedom, sunk into a state of slavery, the most deep and severe. The bards were prohibited by law from making their annual progress, and from holding public assemblies; which privileges were called by the natives *clera* and *Cymbortha*. During this dark period, and the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguished, or was only employed in soothing the misery of the times by obscure predictions of more prosperous days.\*

A BRIGHTER prospect opening on this nation in the reign of Henry the seventh, a series of bards from that time arose; who, being supported in the families of the Welsh chieftains, ascertained and preserved their genealogies; and, the causes of reciting warlike exploits having ceased, they celebrated the civil virtues of their patrons, their magnanimity, their hos-

\* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

pitiable spirit, their talents, and the graces of their persons. They, likewise, amidst other duties, had the mournful office of composing an elegy on the death of the chieftain in whose family they resided; which was sung to the surviving relations in honour of the dead; reciting the noble families from which the deceased had sprung, and the great actions performed by himself or his ancestors.

SINCE the reign of queen Elizabeth, there has not been any regular assembly of the bards.<sup>†</sup> The motives to emulation having ceased, and the spirit of ancient freedom being extinguished, the poetic fire, for which this nation had been so renowned, gradually declined. But a spark of that ancient fire yet remains in the genius of the Welsh; which, in their seasons of festivity, breaks out into a singular kind of poetry, called

<sup>†</sup> Evan Evans *Dissertatio de Bardis*. Jones's *Musical Remains*, p. 30.

Pennyll;

*Pennyll*;' and which, as a native art, may long survive, though time, or the influence of

Even at this day some vein of the ancient minstrelsy survives amongst our mountains. Numbers of persons of both sexes assemble and sit round the harp, singing alternately *Pennillion* or stanzas of ancient or modern compositions. The young people usually begin the night with dancing, and when they are tired, assume this species of relaxation. They alternately sing, dance, and drink, not by hours, but by days and weeks; and measure time only by the continuance of their mirth and pleasure. Often, like the modern Improvvisatore of Italy, they sing extempore verses; and a person conversant in this art, readily produces a *penill* opposite to the last that was sung. Many have their memories stored with several hundreds, perhaps thousands of *pennillion*, some of which they have always ready for answers to every subject that can be proposed, or if their recollection should ever fail them, they have invention to compose something pertinent and proper for the occasion. The subjects afford a great deal of mirth; some of these are jocular, others satirical, but most of them amorous; which, from the nature of the subject, are best preserved. They continue singing without intermission, never repeating the same stanza, (for that would forfeit the honour of being held first of the song) and, like nightingales, support the contest through the night. The audience usually call for the tune; sometimes a few only sing

of English manners, should erase every other original trait.

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THE union of Wales with the crown of England, not having proceeded from mutual inclination, was received by the Welsh with the deepest reluctance. It was an union which they considered in no other light than

sing to it, and sometimes the whole company. But when a party of capital singers assemble, they rarely call for the tune, for it is indifferent to them what tune the harper plays. Parishes are often opposed against parishes, and even counties contend with counties. These rural usages are best preserved in the mountainous counties of Merioneth and Caernarvon.—Jones's Musical Remains, p. 30. See also Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdon. The world is indebted to this Gentleman for many valuable publications respecting Wales. The countenance which they have already received from the public, on account of the agreeable descriptions given of that country, and their deep and extensive researches into its antiquities, renders any eulogium, on our part, unnecessary.

as



as a system of slavery. Foreign laws and customs had been forced upon them; which, though better than their own, and more suited to their advances into civilization, were still the laws of a conquering nation, with which, on the footing of equality, they had so long contended. The rigour also exercised by Edward's officers in Wales, alienated them still more from an English administration; and they yet retained a fond attachment to the memory of their native princes.

To all the proposals made to them by Edward of settling their government, they gave him the same decisive answer. They said, that they were willing to be governed by a chieftain of their own country, or by the king in person; but firmly declared that they would yield no obedience to any person who was not a native of Wales, or who did not reside there. The idea struck the English monarch. He dispatched orders to queen Eleanor

Eleanor to come instantly into Wales. At this time she was big with child, and it was now the depth of winter. At this season of the year, and in her delicate situation, that princess travelled privately on horseback, through the roads of those times, out of England to Caernarvon. A few days before the queen was delivered, the king sent orders to the Welsh chieftains to meet him at Rhuddlan, and to take into their consideration the public concerns. Edward delayed for some time to call them into council. At length, having heard that Eleanor was delivered of a son<sup>1</sup> on the 25th of April, he commanded the attendance of the Welsh chieftains; and told them, that as they had frequently desired he would appoint them a sovereign, he would now indulge them in their request, provided they promised to

<sup>1</sup> This intelligence was brought to the king by Sir Gryffyth Llwyd, who on that account was knighted by the English prince. *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238. *Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl.* p. 2465.

yield

yield to the person he should name a proper obedience. They assented to the terms he proposed, in case that person should be a native of Wales. The king, then, informed them, that their intended prince was born in their own country, that he could not speak a word of English, and that his life was free from every stain. It is not easy to suppose, that the Welsh chieftains would have been the dupes of so shallow an artifice. They eagerly assented to acknowledge such a person for their sovereign. The king then informed them that their future prince was his infant son Edward, born in Caernarvon castle a few days before. It is natural to conceive, that the Welsh chieftains, though surprised at being thus caught in the snare, would console themselves with the hopes, that the young prince, as a native of Wales, would usually reside in their country. On the magnanimity which was

a Welsh Chron. p. 377. Stowe's Chron. p. 202.

shew

shewn in this transaction the reader will make his own comments. But to strike out advantage from the prejudices, or peculiar attachments of the Welsh; and to render such subservient to his own views, and direct them to their ultimate benefit, was a point of nice address in the English king, and did credit to his talents.

HAVING finished the affairs of North Wales, Edward, to gratify a martial nobility, and to amuse or flatter his new subjects by a spectacle unknown to the Welsh, gave orders that a tournament should be held at Nevyn, a town in Caernarvonshire, and situated on the Irish channel.\* This joust was in imitation of that species of military entertainment supposed to be instituted by king Arthur; and which was called the *Round Table*, from the knights who resorted to these martial exercises being seated at a table of that

\* Matth. Westm. p. 178.



form.<sup>1</sup> A great number of knights, as well English as foreigners, came from different countries to share in this splendid and military entertainment.<sup>2</sup> And here the English king had an opportunity of shewing his Welsh subjects that he was not inferior to Arthur their celebrated warrior, in feats of arms, and in knightly accomplishments. This diversion being ended, he made a progress through Caerdigan, where he remained a month to settle the affairs of South Wales; from thence he proceeded into the county of Glamorgan, on a visit to the earl of Gloucester, to whom that country belonged; and having been nobly entertained by that lord, he arrived at Bristol, in which city he remained during the Christmas holy days.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This custom, it is said, had also been in use among the Gauls and the ancient Britons. Camden's Brit. p. 664. Gibbon's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 178. Camden's Brit. p. 664. Gibbon's edition.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. II. p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110. Holinshed, p. 282.

On

On the second of January, he issued a writ A. D. 1284. from thence, of a conciliatory nature; by which the inhabitants of Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon, and other towns, were declared to be free from paying talliages for ever.<sup>1</sup> King Edward then returned to London, after an absence of nearly three years.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1285.

On his arrival in his capital, he rode in great solemnity through London to Westminster, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, dressed in their sacred vestments, besides an infinite multitude who attended the procession. The king, on this occasion, carried a part of our Lord's Cross which he had brought out of Wales, which was gilded, and ornamented with precious stones, and placed it upon the great altar in Westminster abbey.

THE joy which Edward would naturally feel on the prosperous issue of his affairs,

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

had been highly imbittered by the death of Alphonso<sup>1</sup> his eldest son, a youth of no more than twelve years of age, who died on the nineteenth of August in the preceding year; a prince much admired by the English for his beauty, valour, and spirit. By his death the young prince, Edward of Caernarvon, became heir apparent to the English crown.<sup>2</sup>

THE idea of that prince being a native of Wales, and the expectation that he would be accustomed to speak their language and to reside in their country, were the only ties which secured the fidelity of the Welsh nation to the English government. These bands being loosened, and the only motives to union having ceased, every part of the

<sup>1</sup> A few months before his death, coming to Westminster, he offered up at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, precious stones, and a piece of gold which had been the property of Llewelyn the late prince of Wales. See *Annales Waverleienfis*, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Chr. T. Wyke, p. 112. *Polidore Virgil*, p. 325.

newly subdued state fell again into disorder: a spirit of resistance revived in the Welsh, not under the sole guidance of any one distinguished person, nor upon any plan of concerted operation, but only as chance or caprice, private ambition, or national hatred directed.

AT this time the king of England was in Guienne, and had left, during his absence, the earl of Cornwall regent of the realm. In the late conquest of Wales, Rhys ap Meredydh had been active in the service of Edward; and in consequence of that service had been made a knight, and flattered with the hopes of receiving from the hands of that prince still farther honours. Instead of his expectations being realized, it seems as if he had been left in that cold neglect, which is frequently the just reward bestowed upon wicked and interested men, when their services are no longer necessary. He was cited to appear in the county courts, with other

Y 3

Welsh



Welsh noblemen, by Robert de Tibetot, and Alan Plucknet, the one justiciary of South Wales and governor of several castles adjoining to the territory of Rhys ap Meredydd, and the other the king's steward in Wales. Incensed at this summons, the Welsh chieftain refused his compliance. It was too mortifying to Rhys so easily to relinquish his rights, derived from a long train of princely ancestors; or to see them mingle in the common ruin of ancient customs. Legal measures were taken to enforce his obedience. During the process, frequent hostilities occurred between the retainers of the two parties, to the great annoyance of the country; at length the disorder rose to such a height, as to make it necessary, by an order of the English king, for the earl of Cornwall to come in person into Wales with an army, and endeavour to check the insurrection. At the same time Edward himself wrote to

Welsh Chron. p. 379. Henry de Knyghton de Eventu Ang. p. 2465. Holinshed, p. 283.

Rhys

Rhys ap Meredydh, to desire that he would cease from hostilities; assuring him, that, on his return, the evils he complained of should be redressed, and that all reasonable justice should be done him.<sup>1</sup> Rhys thought the king's absence a fair opportunity of rousing the spirit of the Welsh nation, as yet not reconciled to subjection, and of mounting the throne of his ancestors.<sup>2</sup> In pursuance of this design, and that his followers might have no hopes of safety but in their own valour, he took the castles of Llandovery and Dinevawr, and likewise set fire to several towns.<sup>3</sup>

A. D.  
1287.

THE earl of Cornwall, designing at the same time to attack the rebel chieftain in several quarters, summoned the military tenants of the crown to rendezvous at Glou-

<sup>1</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 379. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Holinshed, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

cester, Llanbadernvawr, and Monmouth, ready to march under his own command, or under the earl of Gloucester, who was appointed general in this expedition.<sup>1</sup> This appointment however was superseded by Cornwall himself,<sup>2</sup> who, marching into Wales, obliged Rhys and his followers to retire into the fastnesses of the country; which gave that nobleman an opportunity of taking and demolishing the castles of the Welsh chieftain. One of these was the castle of Ruslin. It was usual in those days, in the siege of a fortress, to undermine the walls by sinking a mine, and to support it with timber until the besiegers were ready to begin the attack; they then set fire to the props, and the mine sinking in consequence, the walls fell to the ground, and the assault immediately took place. During this operation, in the siege of this fortress, the lord Stafford, and William

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

de Monchency, attended by many knights and esquires, came to reconnoitre the works; but the miners, unskilful in that service, had supported the mine so weakly, that the walls suddenly falling in, they all perished under the ruins. Though the castle was taken, the expedition was rendered of little advantage, by the earl of Gloucester having remained inactive; owing, it is probable, to his having been superseded in the command, or to some secret inclination he might feel to favour the enemy's cause.<sup>1</sup> The earl of Cornwall, unable to force Rhys ap Meredith, and the season of the year advancing into winter, was obliged to relinquish the enterprise, and to grant him a truce.<sup>2</sup>

THE regent had no sooner arrived at Westminster early in November, than the Welsh chieftain renewed hostilities, and laid siege

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 284. Matth. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



to the castle of Emlyn.<sup>1</sup> On this breach of the treaty the justiciary set a price upon his head, and also proclaimed him a traitor: summonses were likewise issued by the earl of Cornwall for the English nobility on the borders of Wales to take up arms against the rebels.<sup>2</sup> The Mortimers, and other lords of the marches, taking arms under Robert de Tibetot, gained possession of a strong fortress belonging to Rhys; and so effectually checked his designs, that having no security in his own territories, he took refuge in those of the earl of Gloucester, by whose means he afterwards escaped into Ireland.<sup>3</sup>

HAVING remained inactive in this retreat three years, Rhys ap Meredydh came again into South Wales; and raising a new insurrection, the justiciary opposed him with the

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> T. Wyke, p. 115. Rymer, vol. II. p. 344, 345.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed, p. 284. Matth. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 240.

few forces which on a sudden he was able to raise. Informed that his own troops were more in number than the English, the Welsh chieftain, with great confidence, marched to give them the meeting. The levies he brought into the field were young and raw soldiers: accustomed to no discipline, they did not preserve any order in their ranks, but with great fury attacked their enemies in front, flank, and rear, expecting on the first onset to break their array. The English troops, forming into a close body, presented a front on every side to the assailants. The action continued for some time warmly disputed: the Welsh repeating their onsets with much bravery, and the English as bravely beating them back: at length, the assaults of the Welsh growing more weak, the English made an effort to break through the main body of the enemy, which they easily accomplished. The Welsh troops, confused and in dismay, were beaten down on every side. Four thousand

sand of them were slain in this engagement. Their leader Rhys ap Meredydh was taken prisoner; and a little time after, on the departure of the king into Scotland, he was executed at York, agreeably to the new mode of punishment; by being drawn at the tails of horses, and afterwards hanged and quartered.<sup>2</sup> After his death, the castles and territories of the Welsh chieftain were given to Robert de Tibetot.<sup>3</sup>

THE king of England, at this time, was engaged in a dispute with the French monarch; and other means having proved ineffectual, he determined to do himself justice by force of arms. In this design, he was assisted by his English subjects, who granted him very liberal supplies; and he now attempted to make an experiment of taxation on his new

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 284. Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465.

<sup>2</sup> Polidore Virgil, p. 326, 327. Matth. Westm. p. 184. says he was executed at Berwick.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, vol. II. p. 482.

subjects

subjects the Welsh. He appointed Roger de Puleston, a man of great eminence in the country, and who was high in his favour, to collect a fifteenth of their moveables.\* As yet little inured to the habits of a foreign government, the spirit of the Welsh was set on fire wherever this tax was attempted to be enforced; an assent to which they considered as forming a precedent in future for impositions of the like nature.

THREE insurrections sprung up in Wales, in different places, and nearly at the same time; though it does not appear that they were directed by any common principle of union.

THE natives of West Wales\* rose up in arms, under the leading of Maelgwyn Vychan, and plundered the counties of Pem-

\* Welsh Chron. p. 380. Carte, vol. II. p. 236, from Walsingham, Chr. Dunstable. Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.

\* Pembrokehire.

broke



broke and Caerdigan. The people who inhabited Glamorgan and the southern parts, also revolted under the conduct of a chieftain of the name of Morgan, descended from the ancient lords of that country; and being joined by the principal vassals of the earl of Gloucester, they drove that nobleman out of his territories, and restored to the Welsh chieftain the inheritance of his ancestors. Madoc, an illegitimate son of the late gallant Llewelyn,<sup>1</sup> and who had himself assumed the title of prince, was at the head of the insurgents in North Wales.<sup>2</sup>

THE revolt opened with acts of hostility, which marked an inveteracy of spirit, and a firm resolution in the Welsh, that the sword alone should secure their safety, and determine the dispute. Seising on Roger de Puleston, they caused him to be hanged, and afterwards

<sup>1</sup> Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshed, p. 293.

cut off his head; the same fate attended all his associates who were concerned in collecting this odious tribute. About the middle of July, Madoc proceeded to Caernarvon, at this time crowded with the English, who had assembled there on account of a great fair. These unarmed people were all slaughtered: the town was plundered and set on fire, and the castle of Caernarvon taken: the fortrefs in Snowdun, likewise, fell into the hands of Madoc, and who soon after gained possession of Anglesey.

A REVOLT so widely spread, and which had opened with such daring insults, determined Edward to suspend his intended views on the continent; and to recall his forces, at that time ready to embark under the command of his brother the earl of Lan-

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinhead, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. II. p. 237, from T. Walsingham. Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.

caster,

caster, and of Henry Lacie lord of Denbigh and earl of Lincoln. The latter nobleman, with a view of preserving the castle of Denbigh, advanced before the king into North Wales; and proceeding in his route under the walls of that fortress, on the eleventh of November, was suddenly encountered by the Welsh, who, encouraged by the situation of the English army, were desirous of hazarding their fortunes upon the issue of a single battle. The event was glorious to the Welsh; the English forces were defeated and forced to retire.<sup>1</sup>

THE revolt in Pembroke, under the conduct of Maelgwyn Vychan, had not proved so successful; as that chieftain, about this time, was taken prisoner; and being conveyed to Hereford, he was in that city drawn at the tails of horses to the place of execution, and hanged with two of his accomplices.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2471. Polidore Virgil, p. 332. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshed, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 191, calls him Chanan.

THE earl of Warwick had already obliged Morgan, the other chieftain who had revolted in South Wales, to submit himself to the royal mercy, with seven hundred of his retainers.<sup>1</sup> That chief, and others of the Welsh nobility, who were vassals of the earl of Gloucester, disgusted with the pride of that nobleman, and his arbitrary conduct, had entered into a resolution never to submit to his authority; but offered to yield themselves up to the king, provided they might hold their estates of the crown of England. Being indulged in this request, Morgan and the other Welsh chieftains laid down their arms, did homage to Edward, and delivered hostages for their fidelity.<sup>2</sup> At this time the English king was in South Wales, attempting in person to quiet the disorders of that country. He had been deceived into the expectation that the county of Caerdigan would have followed the example of the people of

<sup>1</sup> Guthrie's Hist. England, p. 919.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Westm. p. 191. Carte, vol. I. p. 237.



Glamorgan ; but this submission at present not taking place, the English prince, in resentment of the deception which had been offered him by the abbot of Strata-Florida, set fire to that abbey.'

ALARMED at a revolt which was now rising into importance, and which menaced the safety of his new dominions, Edward came into North Wales to conduct the war in person. Having proceeded in his march to the Conway, he crossed that arm of the sea with a part of his forces ; and retiring into the castle, waited for the remainder of his army to follow. In his passage he lost many waggons and other carriages loaded with victuals, which had been intercepted by the Welsh ; who in great multitudes came down from the mountains, and invested the castle on the side of the land. A sudden rise in the Conway, preventing his troops from passing the river, and affording him any assist-

ance, rendered Edward's situation exceedingly alarming; he was in great want of provisions, was cut off from his army, and was surrounded on every side by water and the enemy. The distress of the garrison was so great with respect to provisions, that Edward, in common with the soldiers, was obliged to eat salted meat, and the coarse bread which was found in the castle, and to use water likewise for his drink mixed with honey. A single flaggon of wine only remained in the fortress, which being reserved solely for the king's use, that prince could not be prevailed upon to taste it; but causing it to be mingled with water, he ordered the liquor to be distributed among the garrison; declaring, with a manly spirit, that he would share every extremity with the meanest soldier.\* In this perilous state, when any moment might have been fatal, Edward's usual good fortune attended him. The Conway suddenly subsiding, his forces were enabled to cross

\* Hen. de Knyghton, p. 247.

the water and come to his relief. The Welsh, then, abandoned the siege and retired to the mountains of Snowdun. The English king, on the enemies retreat, passed the Christmas holidays without molestation in the castle of Conway.<sup>1</sup>

THE earl of Warwick, having received intelligence that a large body of the enemy was encamped in a valley, which was inclosed on each side by a wood, selected for this service a squadron of horse, with a detachment of cross-bow-men and archers; and with this force, marching silently in the night, he suddenly surrounded the Welsh, little suspecting an assault. With much coolness, however, the Welsh, fixing their spears in the ground, and presenting a dangerous front, kept off the English horse. Not able to make any impression, the earl of Warwick placed a cross-bow-man or an archer in every interval between two horsemen; who, thus, fighting at a distance, slew great numbers with their

<sup>1</sup> Holinhead, p. 293. Welsh Chron. p. 380.

shot and arrows; then charging the remaining body with his horse, the Welsh phalanx was broken, and was soon entirely routed with great slaughter.<sup>1</sup> After this action, Edward, finding no enemy to resist him, crossed over the Menai into Anglesey; where he erected a strong fortress, which he called Beumarish,<sup>2</sup> as a check to the natives of that island. Then having laid the country more open, by cutting roads through the woods,<sup>3</sup> and having severely punished those persons who had been concerned in the murder of Roger de Puleston, he returned with his army into England.<sup>4</sup>

ALL this time, the gallant Madoc, giving way to the storm, though still unbroken in his spirit, had retired into a place of security. The young chieftain, no doubt, on his first

<sup>1</sup> J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Holinshed, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's Brit. p. 675. Gibson's edit.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 381.

<sup>4</sup> Marth. Westm. p. 191.



success, had flattered himself with the hopes of restoring his country to its ancient freedom.<sup>1</sup> Incited by this fond idea, the Welsh in great numbers still eagerly joined his standard. On the king's departure, Madoc invaded the English borders. Having reduced Oswestry, and ravaged the adjacent country, he defeated the lord Strange near Knocking; then again defeating a body of English in another engagement, he proceeded towards Shrewsbury; but during his progress, his forces were routed by the lords of the marches, and he himself, after a long resistance, was taken prisoner upon the hills of Cefn Digolh not far from Caers castle.<sup>2</sup> Madoc was sent up to London, and doomed by king Edward to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> It is said by others, that Madoc was delivered up to Edward by his own army.

<sup>3</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 381.

ON this disaster, all the Welsh chieftains laid down their arms and submitted to the English monarch; whose conduct on this occasion was politic, and tempered in some degree with lenity. No victim was sacrificed to the severity of his justice: he gave to the heirs of the rebellious chieftains their forfeited estates; requiring only a compensation for the damages which he had sustained in the war, with an assurance likewise of implicit obedience for the future. Lest the moderation of his conduct might again incite them to revolt, he assured them, that he would entirely exterminate their nation, if they again presumed to resist his authority.<sup>1</sup> A. D. 1295.

The most eminent of the Welsh nobility were confined in different castles of England, where they remained some years, during the wars of Edward in Scotland;<sup>2</sup> that prince, no doubt, regarding their confinement as the

<sup>1</sup> Carre's Hist. Eng. p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472. Holinshed, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 382.

only sure pledge of their fidelity. The greater number of these chieftains were imprisoned in the Tower of London. To soothe their minds during this solitary confinement, banished from their country and their friends, the Welsh chieftains solicited the favour that their manuscripts might be sent to them out of Wales. They were indulged in this reasonable request; and as it is natural to conclude, that they made a free use of this indulgence, in process of time the Tower became the principal repository of Welsh literature. This valuable collection is said to have been committed to the flames by one Scolan,\* a person who is only known to the world by having perpetrated so infamous an action; and who might have been imputed to it by the same motive, which impelled Herostatus to set on fire the temple of Diana.

\* Jones's Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards, p. i.

THE insurrections already recited, with the revolt of Sir Gryffydd Llwyd, and the rebellion of Owen Glyndyfrdwy, were the last efforts which the Welsh made to recover the freedom they had lost. Their wild spirit of independence, and their enthusiasm for liberty, from this period gradually declined. The blood of their beloved princes was nearly extinct; and their native bravery was subdued, or rendered ineffectual, by their intestine divisions, and by their repeated misfortunes. When fierce valour and unregulated freedom are opposed to discipline, to enlarged views, and to sound policy, the contest is very unequal; it is not therefore surprising that the genius of England at length obtained the ascendancy. It was, indeed, an interesting spectacle, and might justly have excited indignation and pity, to have seen an ancient and gallant nation, falling the victims of private ambition, or sinking under the weight of a superior power. But such emotions, which were then due to that



that injured people, have lost, at this period, their force and their poignancy. A new train of ideas arise, when we see that the change is beneficial to the vanquished: when we see a wild and precarious liberty succeeded by a freedom, which is secured by equal and fixed laws: when we see manners hostile and barbarous, and a spirit of rapine and cruelty, softened down into the arts of peace, and the milder habits of civilized life: when we see this Remnant of the ancient Britons, uniting in interests, and mingling in friendship with their conquerors, and enjoying with them the same Constitutional Liberties; the purity of which, we trust, will continue uncorrupted as long as the British Empire shall be numbered among the nations of the earth.

THE

## THE UNION OF WALES WITH ENGLAND.

AFTER the conquest of Wales by Edward the first, the concerns of that country, considered in a national light, are entirely uninteresting; as the inhabitants of which, until the reign of Henry the seventh, were reduced to a state of bondage the most deep and severe.\*

ACTUATED by few other springs than their passions, restrained by no regular police, no longer animated by the presence of their princes, nor their minds softened by the influence of native arts, the manners of the Welsh nation, for a long period, degenerated into the deepest ferocity. Unemployed in the arts of peace, little civilized by

\* See Statutes respecting Wales in the reigns of Henry the fourth, and Henry the sixth.

social

social intercourse, and enjoying only a narrow and partial hospitality, their eager spirit, no longer directed against a potent and hereditary enemy, naturally sunk into deadly feuds,<sup>1</sup> or was deeply engaged in the pleasures of the chase.

THOUGH the policy of Edward the first had allowed the Welsh nation to enjoy their liberties, and to hold their estates under ancient tenures, they had much reason to complain of the excessive rigour which had been exercised over them by the officers of justice, and of the rapacity of the English barons who had settled in Wales.<sup>2</sup>

THE powers of the lords marchers were still in their full force, and had been exercised with such severity upon the Welsh, as to render an act of parliament necessary in the reign of Henry the eighth. The statute

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 78, 79, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 30, 31, 34.

is to the following purpose; "Whereas  
 " many robberies, murders, and other evil  
 " practices have been daily committed in the  
 " county palatine of Chester, and Flintshire  
 " in Wales, and also in Anglesea, Caernar-  
 " von, Meirionnydh, Caerdigan, Caernar-  
 " then, Pembroke, and Glamorgan; because  
 " justice is not administered there in such  
 " form as in other places of this realm: for  
 " the remedy of this, it is enacted, that the  
 " Lord Chancellor of England, or Keeper of  
 " the Great Seal, shall nominate and appoint  
 " justices of peace, justices of the quorum,  
 " and justices of the goal-delivery in the said  
 " counties, and that they shall have like  
 " power and authority as those in England."  
 This statute in some measure lessened the  
 evils complained of; as it was the means of  
 keeping offenders in awe, they not being  
 able, as before, to escape, and to flee from  
 one lordship marcher to another: it also  
 placed the administration of justice on a more  
 stable foundation.

ANOTHER



ANOTHER evil had likewise arisen, which strongly marked the oppression of the times; to the remedy of which a succeeding statute was judged necessary, and was to the following effect: "Whereas in Wales and in the Marches, there are many forests belonging either to the king or to the lords marchers, wherein sundry actions have been committed for a long time, contrary to the law of God and man; insomuch, that if any person entered the said forests without a *token* given him by any of the foresters, as a licence to pass, or unless he was a yearly *tributer* or *chenser*, he was forced to pay a grievous fine; and if he should chance to be found twenty-four feet out of the highway, he was then to forfeit all the gold or money which was found on his person, and likewise a joint of one of his hands, unless he was fined for the offence at the discretion of the forester, or farmer of the same. And whereas likewise, if any cattle strayed into the said forests, it

" was

" was the custom of the foresters to mark  
" them for their own, with the mark of the  
" forest." By this statute, it was enacted,  
that people should be allowed to pass through  
these forests as freely as in other places; and  
that strayed cattle, within a year and a day,  
should be restored to the right owners, they  
only paying a compensation for the herbage.

THESE statutes, restraining the powers of  
the lords marchers, were some years after  
succeeded by another act of Parliament,  
which rendered those lords no longer the  
objects of terror, and entirely destroyed their  
juridical authority. It was to the following  
effect: " Whereas by the gifts of the kings  
" of England, many of the most ancient  
" prerogatives and authorities of justice ap-  
" pertaining to the imperial crown of this  
" realm, have been severed and taken from  
" the same; it was then enacted, that no  
" person should have power and authority  
" to pardon or to remit treasons, murders,  
" man-

“ man-slaughters, or any felonies, or their  
 “ accessaries in any part of England, Wales,  
 “ or in the marches of the same: That like-  
 “ wise no person should make justices of  
 “ oyer, justices of assize, justices of peace,  
 “ or justices of goal-delivery; but they  
 “ should in future be made only by the  
 “ king’s letters patent: And that all original  
 “ writs, judicial writs, and all manner of  
 “ indictments for treason, felony, and tref-  
 “ pass, and all manner of process should be  
 “ only made in the king’s name; and that  
 “ all offences committed against the peace,  
 “ should be considered as an offence com-  
 “ mitted against the king, and not against  
 “ the peace of any other person.” These  
 excessive powers, which had been anciently  
 vested in those persons who enjoyed counties  
 palatine, and *jura regalia* in lordship marchers,  
 being thus taken away, a more regular and  
 uniform course of justice was established;  
 and in consequence, the disorders continually  
 occurring

occurring within those precincts were in a great measure prevented.

THOUGH these humane and salutary statutes had relieved the Welsh from many of their sufferings, the line of distinction was still preserved, and they yet remained as a separate people; a distinction, contrary to all just ideas of government, and which could only serve to keep alive their national prejudices. But the Welsh themselves, and it may be recorded to their honour, solicited Henry the eighth that he would extend his liberal designs, and would give them a still more salutary effect. The petition itself, which they sent to that monarch, will best explain their extensive views and manly spirit, as well as the nature and justice of their claims.

“ May it please your Highness.”

“ WE, on the part of your Highness’s subjects, inhabiting that portion of the  
VOL. II.                   A a                   “ island



“ island which our invaders first called Wales,  
“ most humbly prostrate at your Highness’s  
“ feet, do crave to be received and adopted  
“ into the same laws, and privileges, which  
“ your other subjects enjoy: Neither shall it  
“ hinder us (we hope) that we have lived so  
“ long under our own. For as they were  
“ both enacted by authority of our ancient  
“ law-givers, and obeyed for many successions  
“ of ages, we trust your Highness will  
“ pardon us, if we thought it neither easy  
“ nor safe so suddenly to relinquish them.  
“ We shall not presume yet to compare them  
“ with these now used, and less shall we  
“ contest how good and equal in themselves  
“ they are. Only if the defence of them and  
“ our liberty against the Romans, Saxons,  
“ and Danes, for so many hundred years,  
“ and lastly against the Normans, as long  
“ as they pretended no title but the sword,  
“ was thought just and honourable; we  
“ presume it will not be infamous now;  
“ and that all the marks of rebellion and  
“ falsehood,

" falshood, which our revilers would fasten  
 " on us, will fall on any, sooner than those  
 " who fought for so many years, and with  
 " so different nations for our just defence :  
 " Which also is so true, that our best histo-  
 " ries affirm the christian religion to have  
 " been preserved only by us for many years  
 " that the Saxons (being heathens) either  
 " attempted or possessed this country. May  
 " your Highness then graciously interpret  
 " our actions, while we did but that duty  
 " which your Highness would have now done  
 " by all your subjects on like occasion ; for  
 " when any should invade this country  
 " henceforth, we know your Highness would  
 " have us to behave ourselves no otherwise.  
 " Besides, had not the assailers found some  
 " resistance, they might have despised a coun-  
 " try, that brought none forth able enough  
 " to assert it ; so that we crave pardon, Sir,  
 " if we say it was fit for the honour of your  
 " dominions that some part of it should  
 " never be conquered. We then in the name

A a 2

" of

“ of whatsoever in your Highness's possession  
“ hath in any age held out against all in-  
“ vaders, do here voluntarily resign, and  
“ humble ourselves to that sovereignty,  
“ which we acknowledge so well invested in  
“ your Highness. Nor is this the first time;  
“ we have always attended on occasion to  
“ unite ourselves to the greater and better  
“ parts of the island.

“ But as the kings of this realm, weary  
“ of their attempts in person against us, did  
“ formerly give not only our country to those  
“ who could conquer it, but permitted them  
“ *jura regalia*, within their several precincts;  
“ so it was impossible to come to an agree-  
“ ment, while so many that undertook this  
“ work, usurped martial and absolute power  
“ and jurisdiction in all they acquired, with-  
“ out establishing any equal justice. And  
“ that all offenders flying from one lordship  
“ marcher (for so they were termed) to ano-  
“ ther, did both avoid the punishment of  
“ the

" the law, and easily commit those robberies,  
" which formerly tainted the honour of our  
" parts. So that until the rigorous laws,  
" not only of the several conquerors of Eng-  
" land, but the attempters on our parts,  
" were brought to an equal moderation, no  
" union, how muchsoever affected by us,  
" could ensue.

" THEREFORE, and not sooner, we sub-  
" mitted ourselves to Edward the first, a  
" prince, who made both many and equaller  
" laws than any before him ; therefore we  
" defended his son Edward the second, when  
" not only the English forsook him, but  
" ourselves might have recovered our former  
" liberty, had we desired it. Therefore we  
" got victories for Edward the third, and  
" stood firm during all the dissensions of this  
" realm to his grandchild and successor  
" Richard the second. Only if some amongst  
" us resisted Henry the fourth, your High-  
" ness may better suppose the reason than

A a 3

" we



" we tell it, though divers foreigners openly  
" refusing to treat with him as a sovereign  
" and lawful prince, have sufficiently published it. We did not yet decline a due  
" obedience to Henry the fifth, though in  
" doubtful times, we cannot deny, but many  
" refractory persons have appeared. However, we never joined ourselves with the  
" English rebels, or took occasion thereby  
" to recover our liberty, though in Richard  
" the second's time, and during all the civil  
" wars betwixt Lancaster and York, much  
" occasion was given. For adhering to the  
" house of York, which we conceived the  
" better title, we conserved our devotion still  
" to the crown, until your Highness's father's  
" time, who (bearing his name and blood  
" from us) was the more chearfully assisted  
" by our predecessors in his title to the crown,  
" which your Highness doth presently enjoy.  
" And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof  
" of a generous courage in defending our  
" laws and country, we have given no less  
" proof

" proof of a loyal fidelity since we first  
" rendered ourselves. In so much, that we  
" may truly affirm, that after our acceptance  
" of the condition given us by Edward the  
" first, we have omitted no occasion of performing the duty of loving subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us  
" more, than that all those controversies  
" about succession (which so long wasted  
" this land) are determined in your Highness's person, in whom we acknowledge  
" both Houses to be happily united.

" To your Highness therefore we offer all  
" obedience, desiring only that we may be  
" defended against the insults of our malignant censurers: for we are not the offspring of the run-away Britons, (as they term us) but natives of a country, which, besides defending itself, received all those who came to us for succours. Give us  
" then (Sir) permission to say, that they  
" wrong us much, who pretend our country

“ was not inhabited before them, or that  
“ it failed in a due piety, when it was so  
“ hospitable to all that fled thither for refuge:  
“ which also will be more credible, when it  
“ shall be remembered, that even our highest  
“ mountains furnish good beef and mutton,  
“ not only to all the inhabitants, but supply  
“ England in great quantity. We humbly  
“ beseech your Highness therefore, that this  
“ note may be taken from us. As for our  
“ language, though it seem harsh, it is that  
“ yet which was spoken anciently, not only  
“ in this island, but in France: some dialects  
“ whereof therefore remain still amongst the  
“ *Bas-Bretons* there, and here in Cornwall.  
“ Neither will any man doubt it, when he  
“ shall find those words of the ancient Gaulish  
“ language repeated by the Latin authors,  
“ to signify the same thing amongst us at  
“ this day: Nor shall it be a disparagement  
“ (we hope) that it is spoken so much in the  
“ throat, since the Florentine and Spaniard  
“ affect this kind of pronunciation, as be-  
“ lieving

" lieving words that found so deep proceed  
 " from the heart. So that if we have re-  
 " tained this language longer than the more  
 " northern inhabitants of this island (whose  
 " speech appears manifestly to be a kind of  
 " English, and consequently introduced by  
 " the Saxons) we hope it will be no impu-  
 " tation to us; your Highness will have but  
 " the more tongues to serve you: it shall  
 " not hinder us to study English, when it  
 " were but to learn how we might the better  
 " serve and obey your Highness: to whose  
 " laws we most humbly desire again to be  
 " adopted; and doubt not, but if in all  
 " countries the mountains have afforded as  
 " eminent wits and spirits as any other part,  
 " ours also, by your Highness's good favour  
 " and employment, may receive that esteem."

THE king of England, having considered  
 the loyalty of his Welsh subjects, and the  
 reasonable nature of their claim, ordered a  
 statute to be enacted in parliament, which

entirely



entirely united Wales with his English dominions; regarding, no doubt, such an union as an object of sound policy.

THE statute is to this effect.

“ THAT as the dominion, principality and  
“ country of Wales is a member and part  
“ of the temporal crown of this realm,  
“ whereof therefore the king is head and  
“ ruler; yet as it hath divers rights, usages,  
“ laws and customs very different to the  
“ laws and customs of this realm, and be-  
“ cause the language of that country is dif-  
“ ferent from that which is spoken here, and  
“ that many rude people hereupon have  
“ made distinction and diversity betwixt his  
“ Highness’s other subjects, and them, to  
“ the causing of much discord and sedition;  
“ his Highness therefore, out of his love and  
“ favour to his subjects in Wales, and for  
“ reducing them to his laws, doth by advice  
“ and consent of his parliament ordain and  
“ enact,

“ enact, that Wales shall be united and incorporated henceforth to and with his realm of England; and that his subjects in Wales shall enjoy and inherit all singular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges and laws which his Highness’s subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit. And therefore that inheritances shall descend after the manner of England, without division or partition, and not after any tenure or form of Welsh laws or customs. And so farasmuch as there are divers lordships marchers within the said country or dominion in Wales, being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due correction is used and had, and that in them and the countries adjoining manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the offenders, making their refuge from one lordship marcher to another, were continued without punishment and correction: Therefore it is enacted  
“ that

“ that the said lordships marchers shall be  
“ united, annexed, and joined to divers shires  
“ specified in the said act.”

THIS statute was put into immediate execution. The utility of which has been fully justified by the experience of nearly three centuries. During this time, the genius of the Welsh nation has taken a different turn, and has been directed to those pursuits which tend to polish their manners, to enlarge their views, and to cultivate their minds; and, by consequence, to promote the happiness of individuals, as well as the best interests of the public.

\* This account of the abolition of lordships marchers, and of the petition of the Welsh to Henry the eighth, has been taken from lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his history of the reign of that monarch.

THE

## INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS

OF

## CHRISTIANITY

IN

## BRITAIN AND IN CAMBRIA.

THE Saxons having destroyed, with barbarous rage, the ancient monuments of the British history, it is difficult to determine, at this time, whether Christianity was established by the divine mission of the apostles and their first disciples, or by the pious labours of succeeding missionaries.\* This event, from the want of authentic records, forms a doubtful part of history; being nearly lost in the darkness of those times, and enveloped amidst the legendary fables of the monks. It is

\* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

however



however allowed, that christianity was introduced about the middle of the first century; having been perhaps in some degree favoured

by an edict of the emperor Claudius, which had been issued to exterminate the Druidical religion.<sup>1</sup> But though the *christian faith* had been thus early planted in the island, it does not appear to have taken root, or to have spread, until the time of Lucius, who is said to have reigned in Britain about the end of the second century.<sup>2</sup> Soon after the conversion of this prince from paganism, he sent ambassadors to Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, to solicit the assistance of pious and learned men; by whose labours his own faith might be confirmed, and christianity extended through the nation. By the industry and zeal of *those* who in consequence were sent by that prelate, the Britons were in general converted; and the British church

<sup>1</sup> Whitaker's Hist. Manchester, vol. II. p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Vertigan, in his Epistle to the English Nation, p. 2 Flor. Wighorne. Mar. Sabellicus. Godwin's English Bishops received

received at that period a considerable degree of strength and of union, by being reduced into a regular establishment.<sup>1</sup> This prince A. D. 180. is said to have converted the heathen temples into places of christian worship; and to have divided the national church into three ecclesiastical provinces, each of which was a *metropolitan see*, and the residence of an archbishop. The first see was fixed at London, and contained within its province the south of England. The second was settled at Caerlleon upon Uske in Monmouthshire, and held within its jurisdiction *Cambria*, or Wales. The third see was established at York, which extended its ecclesiastical power over the northern parts of the island.<sup>2</sup> Besides three archbishops, there were twenty-eight suffragan bishops; the whole being equal to the number of Archflamens and Flamens, who had

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Usher, cap. viii. 4. Mosheim, vol. I. p. 121. Godwin's English Bishops. Geoffry Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 142.

presided

presided over the Pagan hierarchy in Britain.<sup>1</sup> At the same time that christianity acquired this degree of regularity, a school for religious learning was established at *Bangor-is-Coed* in Flintshire, which afterwards became the great seminary of knowledge for the province of Cambria.<sup>2</sup>

To decide upon the credit which is due to this legend is a difficult point to the historian, many learned writers having held different opinions with respect to the real existence of Lucius; on the authenticity of which is founded the fabric of the early British church. The evidence of Tertullian and Origen, who lived about the second century, and of St. Chrysostome and other fathers of a later period, bear testimony to the early introduction of christianity into the island, as well as to the salutary effects

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's English bishops, p. 157. Geoffrey Monmouth. Speed's Chron. p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland's Mona, p. 142.

which

which it had produced upon the manners of the Britons.<sup>1</sup> The British bishops also appear to have attained a degree of pre-eminency, in the public councils of the church, on account of the christian *faith* having been earlier established in Britain than in any of the western parts of Europe.<sup>2</sup>

THE flames of persecution, which under several emperors had raged in various parts of the Roman empire, had not extended into Britain before the reign of Dioclesian; and from the first establishment of the church under Lucius to this period, it enjoyed an universal tranquillity.<sup>3</sup> But the rapid progress of christianity alarmed the heathen priests; who were afraid lest their power, together with *Polytheism*, would sink under that ascendancy which the new religion was acquiring over the minds of men. Influ-

<sup>1</sup> Speed's Chron. p. 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland's Mona, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Godwin's English Bishops, 157. Speed's Chron. p. 79.



enced by these motives, they assailed the fears of Dioclesian with unjust accusations against the christians; imposing on him fictitious oracles, and other insidious arts, which influence the timid and superstitious. After some resistance, the zeal of this prince was inflamed by an interested priesthood, and a cruel persecution ensued; which was of so long continuance, that it had nearly proved fatal to the christian cause.<sup>2</sup> The church of Britain shared in the general calamity; for, during its progress, the sacred edifices were destroyed, the priests were massacred, and the people were either killed, or obliged to abjure their religion. The first person who sealed with martyrdom his faith in the religion of Christ, was Alban, of the city Verulamium, who was beheaded upon the site of the present town of St. Alban's;<sup>3</sup> and at the same time,

A. D.  
286.

<sup>1</sup> Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 256. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> In honour of this Saint, Offa king of the Mercians, built the monastery of St. Alban's.

and

and near the same place, suffered Amphilus, who had converted that *father* to christianity.<sup>1</sup> The next martyrs of eminence were Aaron and Julius, who were put to death at Caer Lleon upon Ufke;<sup>2</sup> and at Litchfield a thousand christians are said to have fallen the victims of this cruel persecution.<sup>3</sup>

So late as about this period the druidical religion remained in Scotland, and in the adjacent islands; but Cratylinth, a king of that country, out of zeal for christianity, began his reign by the expulsion of the Druids; and having driven them out of the Isle of Man,\* which was the presidency of the *Order*, and a part of his dominions, he erected there a stately church, to the honour

<sup>1</sup> Speed's Chron. p. 79. from Bede. Godwin's Bishops, p. 157. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. Paris.

<sup>3</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis Iten. lib. I. cap. V. Geoffry Monmouth. Bede. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

\* Or *Môn*.

of Christ, which he named *Soderense Fanum*, or our Saviour's Church.<sup>1</sup>

THOUGH the situation of the British church, during the late persecution, was truly calamitous, her sufferings were alleviated by the shortness of their duration; for Carausius, and after him Allectus,<sup>2</sup> when they usurped the sovereignty of the island, had too much policy to irritate their subjects, by urging the fury of the Imperial edicts. And when Constantius presided over Gaul and Britain in the quality of Cæsar, he had deserted the religion of his ancestors; and he preserved in safety the provinces under his own government, amidst the violence of those storms which desolated the other parts of the christian world.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards when that prince had

A. D. succeeded to the *Purple* as Emperor of the West, he passed the small remainder of his days in Britain; and besides the zeal which

<sup>1</sup> Rowland, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 136, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Mosheim, vol. I. p. 256, 258, 259.

was natural to a convert, he had an additional motive for shewing favour to the church, by having married in his youth, Helena, who was a christian princess of the island.<sup>1</sup> But under the auspices of Constantine the *Great*, whose elevated qualities had seated him without a rival on the Imperial throne, christianity became the established religion of the empire.<sup>2</sup> A luminous appearance of a cross seen in the air at noon day by Constantine, as he was marching towards Rome to attack Maxentius, with the inscription upon it of *Hoc signo Vinces*, is attested by an ancient writer<sup>3</sup> as the cause of this prince's conversion.<sup>4</sup> But whether this A. D. 312. event was owing to such an interposition of heaven, or to the same appearance being exhibited in a dream, or to motives of human

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 147. Speed's Chron. p. 156. Ver-  
sagan, in his Epistle to the English Nation, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Mosheim, vol. I. p. 262, 266. <sup>3</sup> Eusebius.

<sup>4</sup> Mosheim, vol. I. p. 263, 264, 266.



policy, must be left at this day, amidst a variety of opinions, doubtful and undecided.

THE spirit of persecution having ceased, and Paganism having sunk under the influence of the mild or decisive qualities of these emperors, though under the direction of a higher and superior influence, the British church began to attain some degree of stability and eminence; the places of divine worship, which had been demolished in the late troubles, were rebuilt; and new ones were erected to the honour of those martyrs who had suffered in the christian cause.

CONSTANTINE the Great, having assumed the supreme direction of the Catholic or universal church, appointed all affairs of importance, and whatever related to the general interests of christianity, to be decided in public *Councils*; which were to be composed of delegates from the different churches

\* Speed's Chron. p. 79.

in the empire.<sup>1</sup> The first assembly of this kind was at Arles; to which synod the British A. D. 314. bishops in common with the other deputies were convened, to examine into and to decide upon the affair of the Donatists.<sup>2</sup> These prelates are supposed to have been the archbishops of London, York and Caer Lleon.<sup>3</sup> The doctrine of Arius having made great progress in the church, and occasioned great disquietudes among the christians, the *council of Nice* was assembled to determine upon that celebrated controversy; in which the British deputies assisted, and gave judgment against the Arian opinions.<sup>4</sup> A few years after they were summoned to A. D. 335. the second *council of Arles*, to give their suffrages to reinstate Arius and his followers in the privileges and communion of the

<sup>1</sup> Mosheim, vol. I. p. 282.    <sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Rapin, Vol. I. p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Mosheim, vol. I. p. 336. Speed, p. 79. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.

A. D. 337. Soon after this event died Constantine the Great. His son Constantius succeeded to a great part of the empire, and to his predilection for the Arian opinions.<sup>1</sup>

A. D. 359. During the reign of this prince a *council* was held at Ariminum in favour of that *set*; where we find that the British bishops had the firmness to give their suffrages against the Imperial authority.<sup>4</sup>

FROM the decline of the Roman power to the final establishment of the Saxons on the island, the British church exhibited a scene of desolation. The usurpation of Maximus and other similar events; the precarious authority of the Roman edicts, their troops having been gradually withdrawn out of the island; the devastation occasioned by the Picts and Scots, with the

<sup>1</sup> A *council* was held at *Tyre*, in the same year, for the above purpose of restoring *Arius*. Mosheim. Speed, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Mosheim, vol. I. p. 340.

<sup>3</sup> The British prelates, with those of France, travelled at their own expence, having refused the offer made to them by the emperor of paying the charges of their journey.

<sup>4</sup> Speed's Chron. p. 79. Du Pin, vol. I. p. 263.

fierce

ferce contests between the Britons and the Saxons, conspired to render the state of christianity deplorable.<sup>1</sup> In the course of this period the British churches were demolished; immense numbers of christians were put to death by the Saxons, who still adhered to the Pagan theology; the body of the people were sunk into a state of ignorance for want of proper culture; a remissness of discipline prevailed, and a general profligacy was introduced among the clergy.<sup>2</sup>

DURING this season of confusion the opinions of Pelagius had taken root, and had made considerable advances in the British church. This person was a native of the island, and had been educated in the monastery of Bangor about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> The British clergy being

<sup>1</sup> Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. I. cap. 14. p. 52.]

<sup>2</sup> Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 362. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. Carte, vol. I. p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. Rowland, p. 183.

alarmed



alarmed at the growth of his doctrines, and unable, perhaps, for want of learning, to withstand their force or subtilty, implored the assistance of the Gallican church; who deputed St. Germain the bishop of Auxerre, with Lupus the bishop of Troyes, to come over into Britain; and to prevent, if possible, their farther progress.\* A solemn A. D. conference being held at Verulamium, be-  
429. tween the established clergy and the Pelagians; the learned bishops, are said, to have defended the cause of their mission with such ability, as to convert many of those sectaries from the supposed error of their opinions.†

THOUGH the seeds of christianity had been sowed in Ireland by Palladius and a fellow missionary, they afterwards arrived at maturity under the long and pious labors of St. Patrick; who having converted the Irish

\* Geoff. Monmouth. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.

† Ibid.

to the christian faith, presided over their A. D. 433.  
church for more than half a century.\*

THE opinions of Pelagius still prevailing after the return of the missionaries, a *council* of Gallican bishops deputed St. Germain to come over a second time into Britain; who, A. D. 447.  
despairing of conquering the evil by mildness or conviction, made use of a more compulso-  
ratory argument; and put in force the edict of Valentinian, which had ordained the penalty of banishment to hereticks who could not be reclaimed.<sup>1</sup> The zeal of the British clergy in this early period of christianity, indicates, in some degree, a deficiency in liberal and enlarged sentiments.

SUCH was the state of the British church when St. Germain came upon his second mission. Regarding ignorance as the source of heresy and of the general depravity of manners, he instituted seminaries of learn-

\* Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 29.

ing;

ing; particularly for the use of those persons who were intended for *holy orders*.<sup>1</sup> But the reformation of Cambria appears to have been the object of his peculiar attention, where he principally resided during his abode in Britain; the inhabitants of that mountainous region being not yet entirely emerged out of a state of idolatry.<sup>2</sup>

To remedy these evils, and to render permanent this work of conversion; with an extension of liberal policy equal to his zeal, St. Germain instituted many schools and colleges for the instruction of youth, and for a regular supply of learned men in the ministry of the church. In these seminaries were educated many illustrious persons, who afterwards sustained the cause of christianity in the most difficult and perilous seasons.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

THE two most eminent of these schools were established at Henllan and Mochros, places situated on the banks of the Wye; in South Wales; under the immediate direction of Dubricius; who became afterwards so very famous for his learning and piety, that he usually had under his tuition a thousand scholars, who resorted to him from every part of the island.<sup>1</sup> Another person of eminence, called Illutus,<sup>2</sup> was ordained presbyter by St. Germain; and he likewise was placed at the head of several schools which were in great repute, and filled with the sons of the British nobility. Among the number of his disciples was the famous Gildas; the historian, and Daniel, afterwards bishop of Bangor.<sup>4</sup> Paulinus,<sup>3</sup> another disciple of St. Germain, settled a

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Ellydd*.

<sup>3</sup> Son of *Cæu*, a northern Briton, who having lost his territory entered into a religious life.

<sup>4</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> His original name was *Rhun*. He was son of *Urien Reged*, a prince of a district in the north of England.

school



school at Whiteland\* in Caermarthenshire; under whom studied for ten years the celebrated St. David.<sup>1</sup> Another school was likewise established at Llancarvan near Cowbridge.<sup>2</sup> These seminaries, with the improvement of the great monastery of Bangor in Flintshire, are monuments of the pious labours of St. Germain, during his abode in Cambria, and on his second mission into Britain.

It has been already observed, that a metropolitan see had been established many years at Caer Lleon upon Uske in Monmouthshire. At this period St. Germain consecrated Dubricius† to the see of Llandaff; but he was soon after appointed archbishop of Caer Lleon, and primate of all Wales.<sup>3</sup> This *father* of the Cambrian church, was a person of eminent learning and integrity; and dis-

\* *Ty Gwynn ar Ddŷ.*

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

\* Ibid.

† *Deufrig.*

<sup>3</sup> Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 413.

tinguished

tinguished himself against the Pelagian doctrines, in a synód which he held at Brevi\* in Caerdiganshire.<sup>1</sup> After having lived to crown Uthur Pendragon, and the great Arthur, respectively kings of Britain, he resigned to St. David the primacy of Wales; and retired to the island of Bardsey;† where he died, having resided in that place many years as a religious recluse.<sup>2</sup>

THE manner of endowing the see of Llandaff with land when it was first founded, marks the degree of freedom which prevailed in those early times. This land was given to Dubricius by Meiric the first, a prince of Glamorganshire, in a general council of his nation; and with the consent of the nobility, the clergy, and laity; the same mode of procedure prevailing in every grant which was

\* *Llanddewi Brefi.*

<sup>1</sup> Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 413.

† Or the Bards Isle, on the coast of Caernarvonshire.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 413. Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

made to the church, down to the Norman conquest.<sup>1</sup>

THERE was something distinguishing in the birth, and in the personal qualities of David, the national saint of Wales, and the brightest ornament of its church. This celebrated person was uncle to king Arthur, and was the son of a prince of that country.\* He was tall of stature, and of a comely personage; was a man of learning and eloquence, and of great austerity in his life and manners. By the industry and zeal of St. David, the opinions of Pelagius were eradicated, and the most eminent professors of his doctrines were converted to the orthodox faith.<sup>3</sup> With the consent of king Arthur, he removed the metropolitan see from Caerlleon to Menevia;† which place ever since has been called Ty

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

\* *Dewi Sant ab Cedig ab Caredig ab Cynedda Whiti Bonedd y Saint*, a very ancient British MS.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

† *Hen Fynyw*.

Dewi by the Welsh, and St. David by the English. The noisy intercourse of a populous city like Caer Lleon, being ill adapted for contemplation, was not suited to his solitary cast of mind, and rigid sentiments of piety; and on that account he removed the see to Menevia, as to a more sequestered situation.<sup>1</sup> After being seated in the see of St. David sixty-five years, and having built twelve monasteries; after having been exemplary in the piety of those days, this holy person died at a most advanced period of human life; having attained, as it is said, to the age of one hundred and forty-six years. He was buried in the cathedral church of St. David; and many hundred years after was canonized by Pope Calistus the second.<sup>2</sup> The supposed power of working miracles, which a superstitious age had ascribed to St. David, was probably owing to the great length and to the extraordinary sanctity of his life. After his

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



death no memorable transaction occurred for many years in the archiepiscopal see of St. David. In the time of Sampson, who was the twenty-sixth bishop in succession, there were seven suffragan bishops, who belonged to that see, and were subject to his authority; namely, those of Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, St. Asaph, and Fernes in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> This bishop having fled into Britain on account of a contagious distemper which raged in his own country, he carried with him the archiepiscopal pall of St. David; and from this circumstance, or from their poverty or negligence, the title of archbishop was lost ever after to the successors of Sampson. But they long retained, beyond this period, that authority which had been usually annexed to the archiepiscopal dignity; and they acknowledged no dependency on the see of Canterbury, until the time of king Henry the first.

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lhuyd's Britany, p. 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

It is reported of Morgeneu, the thirty-third bishop of St. David, that having presumed to eat flesh contrary to the austere habits of the primitive fathers, he was afterwards murdered by pirates; and this was regarded by the superstitious Giraldus as the punishment of heaven for so heinous an offence.<sup>1</sup>

In the reign of Henry the first, the see of St. David fell under the jurisdiction of Canterbury; the archbishop having consecrated to this see one Barnard, a Norman, and chaplain to Henry the first, without the consent of the clergy of Wales; in whom had uniformly remained the power of electing their bishops.<sup>2</sup> The bishopric of St. David was valued in the exchequer at £426 : 2 : 1, and in the Pope's books at 1500 ducats.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Welsh Chron. p. 175. Godwin's English Bishops, p. 418, 422.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 423.

THERE is no mention of any bishop of Llandaff preceding the time of Dubricius; who was consecrated to that see by St. Germain.<sup>1</sup> But that prelate was soon succeeded by St. Teilaw; he himself being translated to the see of St. David. St. Teilaw, the second bishop, was a person of noble birth, and was educated in one of those seminaries which had been instituted by St. Germain; he was slain by a nobleman in his own cathedral, where he was buried; and which church, after him, took the name of Llan Deilaw.<sup>2</sup> The dependency of this see on the archbishop of Canterbury is implied, by St. Dunstan's having consecrated Godwinus bishop thereof about the year nine hundred and eighty-two.<sup>3</sup> This bishopric was valued in the exchequer at £154 : 14 : 1, and paid to the Pope for first-fruits 700 ducats.<sup>4</sup>

A. D. ABOUT this period a provincial council  
470. was held in Britain for the reformation of

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 423.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 429.

religion, and for repairing the ruined churches; both of which the marriage of Vortigern with a pagan princefs had contributed to bring into decay.<sup>1</sup>

AT this time, the establishment of the gospel among the Picts and Scots was considerably advanced, by the zeal and pious A. D. labours of St. Columba, an Irish monk.<sup>2</sup> 522.

DANIEL, the son of Dynothus\* the last abbot of Bangor in Flintshire, having founded a school in Caernarvonshire for the instruction of youth, gave to that place the name of Bangor; <sup>3</sup> which some time after was erected into a bishopric, and was endowed with lands and franchises by Maelgwyn Gwynedd the king of North Wales.<sup>4</sup> Daniel was consecrated to that see by Dubricius the archbishop of St. David.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's English Bishops, p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. I. p. 430. \* *Dinoeth.*

<sup>3</sup> Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 187. <sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 184.



ST. KENTIGERN\* abbot of Glasgow, and son to a prince of the Picts, having been obliged to quit Scotland, obtained licence to build a college at Llan Elwy in Flintshire; at which place he instituted a bishop's see; and on his return into his own country, he appointed Afaph, his disciple, to succeed him; who gave his name to the present see of St. Afaph.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
590.

It does not appear that the clergy, in these early times, had any distinct *cures* or *parishes* where they resided; but they lived, together with their bishops, on the emoluments of the church, in collegiate bodies; in the same manner as at the great monastery of Bangor. In these colleges, the clergy were habituated to the exercises of reading and prayer; and were obliged to perform the offices of their function in those districts to which they were allotted by

\* *Cyndeyrn Garibawys.*

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 542. Rapin, vol. I. p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's Britannia.

their bishops.<sup>1</sup> But during this period we do not find that there were many churches in the island; the places appointed for divine worship were chiefly a few scattered cloisters and oratories; where the minister of the district came at stated times to read, and to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments to the people.<sup>2</sup> It is probable likewise that the nobility had chapels joined to their mansions, for the benefit of their own families and their surrounding dependents.<sup>3</sup>

THE church of Cambria had hitherto preserved her independency on Rome;<sup>4</sup> and though the spirit of innovation had been longer opposed by the *British* than it had been by the *English* clergy, yet in the end, the Romish superstitions prevailed. There was one injunction, however, the *celibacy* of the clergy, which was resisted with a successful and an uniform firmness;<sup>5</sup> as a source

<sup>1</sup> Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

of profligacy, as innovating on the rights of nature, and as violating the dearest interests of humanity.

IT has been already observed, that the Saxons, during their contest with the Britons, and for some time after they had established their dominion, adhered to the religion of their ancestors; and that christianity prevailed in very few places, except in those which still remained unsubdued by that fierce people.

DURING the reign of Ethelbert, the conversion of the Saxons was undertaken at the instigation of Gregory the bishop of Rome, by St. Austin or Augustine.\* The supreme authority over the British church having been given to St. Austin by Gregory; and having

\* Versegan, chap. v. p. 142.

received at his hand the *Pall*, as the ensign of his patriarchal dignity; that missionary resolved to make an experiment of its virtue, by attempting to exert a controuling power over the bishops in Cambria.<sup>2</sup> There was a difference subsisting at this time between the Cambrian church and that of Rome; in the observance of the sacrament of baptism, and of the ceremony of keeping Easter. To produce an uniformity in worship, and to establish his own supremacy, St. Austín obtained a meeting with some of the British clergy at Aust-Cliffe in Gloucestershire.<sup>3</sup> But not being impowered to concede to his demands, or remaining unconvinced by his arguments,

<sup>1</sup> The Pall was a rich robe of state, very magnificent, and hanging down to the ground; it was a part of the imperial habit, and allowed to the bishop of Rome by the favour of one of the Roman emperors. The Pall was usually given to the patriarchs when that system of government first took place in the church.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffry Monmouth. Godwin's English Bishops, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Verstegan, chap. v. p. 142.

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the clergy referred the decision of the points in dispute to another more general conference.<sup>1</sup> To this assembly, which soon after ensued, were convened seven British bishops, and many learned men from the monastery of Bangor. St. Austin likewise appeared there, in all the pomp of spiritual insolence and pride; being ushered into the assembly by a singing procession, and with his banner and his cross displayed.<sup>2</sup> The British deputies, before they came to the assembly, had consulted an *anchorite*; whether they should submit to the spiritual direction of St. Austin, or should preserve their native independency. This holy person advised them, if St. Austin followed the example of his *Master*, and conducted himself by a meek and humble spirit; that they should observe his rules, and submit to his authority; but if he demeaned himself with haughtiness, and despised their model

<sup>1</sup> *Monasticon*, Verkegan, chap. v. p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffrey Monmouth. Godwin's English Bishops, p. 6.

appearance,

appearance, that they should then shew an equal disdain for him and his councils.<sup>1</sup> Agreeably to this advice, the deputies waited until St. Austin had taken his seat in the assembly; and when they made their appearance, the haughty prelate neither rose from his place, nor gave them any kind of salutation. Affronted at his arrogance and affected superiority, the British deputies firmly opposed him in every point of innovation; and told him, that though his opinions were grounded on the authority of Gregory, their doctrines had long since an equal sanction in the approbation of Eleutherius; that they would yield obedience to their own archbishop who resided at St. David, but would never submit to one whose person and language were as much unknown to them as were his sentiments and doctrines.<sup>2</sup> When St. Austin found he could not gain upon the firmness

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Usher, cap. III. Godwin's Eng. Bishops,

p. 5, 6. Geoff. Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

of the clergy, he relaxed from his haughtiness; and desired that they would administer baptism, and would observe the ceremony of keeping Easter after the Romish manner; and that they would likewise assist him to complete the conversion of the Saxons.<sup>1</sup> But the British deputies continuing firm in their refusal on any terms to join with St. Austín, he solemnly denounced against them the judgment of God; predicted an impending calamity; and confidently assured them, that as they would not accept of peace with their Christian brethren, they would soon have war with their Pagan enemies; and that they would soon find death by the swords of *those*, to whom they had now refused to preach the word of life.<sup>2</sup> These threats, denounced by a mortified and irritated prelate, were soon after accomplished; by the invasion of Ethelfrid, and by the defeat of the Britons at the battle of Chester; with the massacre of eleven

<sup>1</sup> Geoff. Monmouth. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland's Men. Ant. p. 151. Geoff. Monmouth.

hundred and fifty *religious* who resided in the great monastery of Bangor.<sup>1</sup>

THOUGH this blow had nearly proved fatal to the *religious order*, it was eventually a permanent advantage to the church; having been the original cause of producing the institution of parishes, and of the residence of the clergy within those allotted districts. The seminary of Bangor having been entirely destroyed, after this defeat of the Britons; and the Saxons having made their hostile advances to the banks of the Dee, it became necessary to provide for the safety of the clergy, by placing them at a greater distance from danger, in the interior parts of the country.<sup>2</sup> The urgency of the times contributed likewise to this salutary measure. A more immediate intercourse between the clergy and the people, and a keener vigilance

<sup>1</sup> Humfrey Lhuyd's *Breviary*, p. 26, says two thousand monks.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland, p. 151. Geoff. Monmouth.



in their pastors became necessary, when *superstition* was innovating upon the purity of the church, and was diffusing its errors with a zealous and persevering industry.<sup>1</sup>

ON the dispersion of the clergy from the monastery of Bangor, the greatest part of them had settled in North Wales; and the remainder are supposed to have served, as a supply in the ministry of the church, in South Wales and in Armorica.<sup>2</sup> The bishops, and other men of eminence in the Cambrian church, with great industry and zeal, travelled through the country, exhorting the princes and the nobility to assist them in erecting cells and cloisters for the purposes of divine worship; in which places they fixed the subordinate clergy, who were to perform the functions of religion in their particular districts.<sup>3</sup> This was the origin of *residential*

*cures.*

<sup>1</sup> Rowland, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 152. Matth. Westm. p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Rowland, p. 153.

THERE is reason to suppose that the cells of these times, were originally erected equally for the dwellings of the priests, as for the purposes of religion; but at the same time they acquired a sacred estimation by being dedicated to the worship of God. The sites of the most ancient Welsh churches seem to favour this opinion; being usually found in desolate and unfrequented situations; and as such were more calculated for the solitary abode of *ascetics*, than for the general conveniency of religious assemblies.<sup>1</sup> To these churches, *wakes* or anniversary *feast* days were appointed, to the honour of the saints to whom they were dedicated. These *festivals* were usually celebrated either on the Sunday preceding, or on that immediately after the *saint's* day.<sup>2</sup>

ABOUT this period three hundred and eleven parishes were established in North Wales; in the island of Anglesey there

<sup>1</sup> Rowland, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 159.

were

were seventy-four; in Caernarvonshire sixty-eight; in Montgomeryshire forty-seven; in Denbighshire fifty-seven; in Flintshire twenty-eight; and in Merionethshire thirty-seven.<sup>1</sup>

DURING the efforts of St. Ausin to destroy the independency of the Cambrian church, the clergy were collected into different *conventual bodies*, perhaps a vestige of the druidical establishment, under the direction of their peculiar bishops.<sup>2</sup> In this season of danger, while an ambitious priesthood were attempting to establish a spiritual tyranny upon the weakness of human reason,<sup>3</sup> all orders of people took the alarm. The nobility and the bards exerted their zeal on this occasion; and Taliesin,<sup>4</sup> who flourished in that period, exercised his genius in poetry, to excite the vigilance and to animate the zeal of the British clergy. The

A. D.  
600.

<sup>1</sup> Rowland, p. 152.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 149, 150.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Several of the poems of this bard are now extant in MSS.

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innovating spirit of Rome made no progress as long as it was opposed by their united exertions. But after the massacre of the monks at Bangor, when the most distinguished of that body were slain, and the remainder were dispersed through the country; the fences of the Cambrian church being deserted or weakened, it became exposed to a series of evils, under which it suffered for many centuries.\*

A. D.  
608.

THE clergy, while they lived in colleges and were formed into *conventual bodies*, were supported by *tythes* and the voluntary oblations of the people. But when the pious zeal of the bishops, co-operating with the munificence of the nobles, had established these *residential cures*; it was then necessary that the same rights and advantages should become a distinct property, and should be applied to the uses of particular parishes, as they had been heretofore claimed for the

\* Rowland, p. 149, 150.



general service of the church.<sup>1</sup> The clergy being thus established in their respective cells, the people, who inhabited the neighbouring divisions of *beds* and *treus*, into which the country was at that time broken, associated under the spiritual guidance of their peculiar minister; and assigned for his particular maintenance, and as an endowment in future, the *tythes* of their land, and other ecclesiastical emoluments.<sup>2</sup> This union of several townships, when associated for the purposes of religion, and of forming a regular establishment for the maintenance of the church, originally constituted a *parish*.<sup>3</sup> But the fervour of pious munificence abating in process of time, the *tythes* alone were found insufficient for the decent maintenance of the clergy; and it became necessary to consolidate several parishes, with their churches, into one *residential curc*; under the direction of a single priest or incumbent. By this alteration, the clergy were enabled to obtain, or to

<sup>1</sup> Rowland, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 2. ; Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> pur-

purchase *glebes* as the property of the respective incumbent ; to attend with greater leisure the spiritual concerns of their parishes, to build houses for their particular habitations, and to reserve the churches for the sole uses of religious worship.\*

It is reasonable to suppose from these pious exertions, that the parochial clergy were untainted with the general depravity, which is charged by Gildas upon the *conventual orders*, with a degree of monastic severity. Indeed it was not easy for the clergy of *collegiate bodies*, from their frequent intercourse with mankind, and being dispersed in the families of princes, to avoid the contagious influence of luxury. But these dangerous situations, and their consequent proficiency of manners, could have no effect upon the *residential priests* ; who, residing in solitary abodes, sequestered from the views or pleasures of the world, passed their lives in

\* Rowland, p. 159.

the austere piety and mortified habits of *religious recluses*.<sup>1</sup>

THE right of patronage of the bishoprics in Wales, originally belonged to the princes of Wales; upon the feudal idea of the sovereign being the lord paramount of landed property; and afterwards, when the different principalities became united by conquest to the English government, the patronages of the Welsh bishoprics were then annexed to the crown of England.<sup>2</sup>

THE clergy of Wales had hitherto preserved, with great firmness, an independency of the Romish church. About this period, however, they suffered *Elbodus* to be appointed by the Pope, archbishop of North Wales; who soon brought them to act in conformity to the Romish observance of Easter; a point on

A. D.  
762.

<sup>1</sup> Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 160, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, vol. I. p. 177, from Coke's Institutes.

which

which the two churches had hitherto divided in opinion. The Britons, imitating the *Asiatics*, celebrated their *Easter* from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the month; but the Romans, agreeably to the *Nicene* Council, kept that festival from the fifteenth to the twenty-first.\* Thus, at length, did the christian world sink under the tyranny of the church of Rome; and, through a long succession of ages, the arts of an interested priesthood, by controuling the exertions of human genius, weakened the extension of its powers, debased its spirit, and almost annihilated its dignity and freedom.

\* Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p 68.



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# A P P E N D I X.

## No. I.

*Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto  
Senescallus Cestrie Salutem: Sciatis quòd ego me  
constitui plegium, &c.*

TO all and singular to whome this writing shall come,  
Roger de monte alto Steward of Chester sendeth greeting:  
Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena  
the wife of Gruffyth the sonne of Llewelyn, sometimes  
prince of Northwales, and haue vnderaken for hir to our  
souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena  
shall accomplish and performe all and singular those couenants  
and articles, agreed vpon betweene our said souereigne lord  
and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of  
the said Gruffyth hir husband and Owen his son out of the  
prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance  
due vnto the said Gruffyth, which the said Dauid keepeth  
from him by force. In witnesse whereof to this present  
writing I haue put my seale, Dated at Salop, the xundaie  
before the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie,  
in the 25. yeare of the reigne of the said King.

## No. II.

*Reuerendissimis in Christo patribus ac D.D. Roberto  
 Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuar. totius Anglie  
 Primati, & Archiepiscopo Eborum, ac eorum Suffra-  
 ganeis, &c.*

TO the most reuerend fathers in Christ and Lords, Robert by the grace of God Archbishop of Canturburie, primate of England, and the Archbishop of Yorke, and their Suffraganes, being now together at London in counsell: their deuoutsonne Llewelyn Prince of Wales and lord of Snoudon, greeting with due obedience, reuerence, and honor in all things. Be it knownen to your reuerend Fatherhoods, that where heretofore contention and discord (whereof ware followed and long continued) arose betwixt the king of noble memorie Henrie king of England of the one partie, and vs of the other partie: the same contentions and strife were at the last appeased by the authoritie of the sea Apoltolike, and meanes of the reuerend father lord Otobonus, Deacon and Cardinall of S. Adrian Legate into England: as it appeareth in the forme of treatie and peace betwixt the said king, and Edward his first begotten son, lord Edward now king of England, and their successors on the one partie: and vs and our successors on the other partie, by the corporall othes of both parties assured. Which forme of peace wa committed to writing by the said Legate, with the seale of the said king, and the seale of the said lord Edward now king, and with our seale also. In the which peace it is contained amongst other things (which you doo well know as we beleeeue) that we and our successors should hold of the king and his successors the principalitie of Wales. So that

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all Welsh Barons should hold their Baronies and lands of vs and our successors in Capite, and should doo homage and fealtie to vs and to our heires (one Baron excepted) for the which we and our successors should doo homage and fealtie to the lord the king and his successors. It is further contained in the same peace, that neither the said king nor his successors, should receiue anie of our enemies, nor anie running awaie from vs, or our successors, nor should helpe or maintaine anie such against vs or our successors. The which all are contained in the forme of peace, the tenor whereof the reuerend Fathers of Srata Florida, and Aberconwey bearers hereof can shew you.

BUT see reuerend Fathers, the lord Edward now noble king of England, after the said peace taketh into his hands certaine Barons lands of Wales, of which they and their ancestors haue beene long possessed, and keepeth a Baronie in his hands which should be ours by the forme of peace: other Barons of our land being from vs fugitiues, running to him, he keepeth, helpeth and mainteineth; as Dauid ap Gruffyth, and Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, who purposed our death and destruction. Notwithstanding that since their departure they haue robbed within our land, committed slaughter, and burning of houses, and doo still daillie commit the like against the peace aforesaid: and although we haue often sent our greefes and complaints by our solemne messengers, to the said noble lord Edward, as well before he was king, as since, yet vnto this daie he neuer did anie redresse therein. Also that which is more perillous, he called vs vnto a place (not to vs safe) amongst our deadile enemies, our fugitiues and felons and their spies and murderers, to doo him homage and fealtie: to the which place we can no waies come without danger of our bodie: speciallie seeing our enemies aboute said be in that place at the king's table, and sometime in counsell, and openlie brag themselves. And though lawfull and reasonable excuses were alledged by our messengers, before the king



king and his counsell, why the place was not safe nor indifferent, yet he refused to allow or appoint anie other place indifferent for vs to doo our homage and fealtie: which we were and are readie to doo vnto him, in anie safe place by him to be appointed, if he will appoint anie: and to performe the other articles of the peace concluded and sworne. And for that it pleased him not to come to anie place, where we could with safetie do him homage, we were suiters to him, to send anie from him to receiue our oth and homage, vntill it pleased him to appoint a place, where we shall doo our homage to him personallie, the which thing he vtterlie denied to doo.

We therefore beseech your Fatherhoods earnestlie, that it please you to consider what danger should happen to the people both of England and of Wales, by reason of the breach of the couenants of peace aboue said: if now warres and discord should follow, which God forbid: attending and calling to remembrance the prohibition of the holie father the Pope latelie in the counsell at Lions, that no warre should be moued amongst Christians: least thereby the affaires of the holie land should be neglected: that it would please you also to helpe with your counsell with the lord and king, that he would vse vs and order vs according to the peace agreed vpon, the which we will no waie infringe. And if he will not harken to your counsell therein (which God forbid) that you will hold vs excused, for we will no waies as much as in vs lieth procure the trouble or disquietnes of the Realme. And if it may please you to giue credit to our messengers (which we doo send to the king at the daie by him vnto vs appointed) to alledge our lawful excuses in those things, which they by mouth shall on our part shew vnto you: refusing to doo your will and pleasure, if it please you to write againe. Dated at Talybont the 6. daie of October, An. 1575.

## No. III.

*Certaine greefes sent from Lhwelwyn, to the Archbishop:  
translated Word by Word out of the Records of the  
said Archbishop.*

WHERE that it is contained in the forme of the peace,  
concluded as followeth.

I If the said Lhwelwyn will claime anie right in anie lands  
occupied by anie other than by the lord the king, without  
the said foure Cantreds, the said lord the king shall doo him  
full iustice, according to the lawes and customes of those  
quarters or parts, where the said lands doo lie. Which  
article was not obserued in the lands in Arustly, and betwixt  
the waters of Dyui and Dulas, for that when the said Lhw-  
elwyn claimed the said lands before the lord the king at Ruth-  
lan, and the king granted him the cause to be examined  
according to the lawes and customes of Wales, and the aduo-  
cates of the parties were brought in, and the Iudges which  
vulgarlie they call Ynnayd, before the king, to iudge of the  
said lands according to the lawes of Wales. And the de-  
fendant appeared and answered so, that the same daie the  
cause ought to haue bene fullie determined according to the  
appointment of our lord the king. Who at his being at Glo-  
cester, had assigned the parties the said daie: and though the  
same cause was in diuers places often heard and examined  
before the Iustice, and that the lands were in Northwales,  
and neuer iudged but by the laws of Wales, neither was it  
lawfull for the king but according to the lawes of Wales to  
proroge the cause; all that notwithstanding he proroged the  
daie (of his owne motion) contrarie to the said lawes. And  
at the last the said Lhwelwyn was called to diuers places,  
whiche

whither he ought not to have beene called: neither could he obtaine iustice, nor anie iudgement, vnlesse it were according to the lawes of England, contrarie to the said article of the peace. And the same was doone at Montgomery, when the parties were present in iudgement, and a daie appointed to heare sentence, they proroged the said daie contrarie to the foresaid lawes: and at the last the king himselfe at London denied him iustice, vnlesse he would be iudged according to the English lawes in the said matter.

2 ALL iniuries, trespasses and faults on either part doone, be clearelie remitted vnto this present daie. This article was not kept; for that as soone as the lord Reginald Gray was made Iustice, he moued diuers and innumerable accusations against the men of Tegengl and Ros, for trespasses doone in the time of king Henrie: when they bare rule in those parties, whereby the said men dare not for-fearre keepe their own houses.

3 WHERE as it was agreed that Rees Vachan ap Rees ap Maelgon shall enioie his possessions, with all the land which he now holdeth, &c. After the peace concluded he was spoiled of his lands of Geneu'rglyn which he then held, with the men and cattell of the same.

4 ALSO our lord the king granteth, that all tenants holding lands in the foure Cantreds, and in other places which the king holdeth in his owne hands, shall hold and enioie the same, as freele as they did before the time of the warres, and shall vse the same liberties and customes, which they vsed before. Contrarie to this article, the lord Reginald Gray hath brought manie new customes against the forme of peace aforesaid.

5 ALL controuerfies moued, or to be moued betwixt the Prince and anie other, shall be decided after the lawe of the

the marches (if they have their beginning in the marches) and after the lawes of Wales, such as in Wales have their beginning. Contrarie to this article, the king dooth and sendeth Iustices to Anglesey, who presume to iudge there the men and subjects of the Prince: setting fines vpon them, contrarie to the lawes of Wales, seeing neither this nor anie like was euer heard in times past; imprisoning some, outlawing others, when the Prince is at all times readie to doo iustice to all men that complaine vpon anie of his men.

6 WHERE it is in the peace, that Gruffyth Vachan should doo homage to the king for the land in Yale, and to the Prince for the land in Ederneon, the kings iustices brought the ladie of Maylor, into all the said lands of Edeyrneon. The knowledge of which cause onelie pertained to the Prince, and not to the said Iustices: and yet for peace sake, the Prince did tolerate all this, being at all times readie to minister iustice to the said ladie.

7 AND though the said Prince submitted himselfe vnto vs and our will, yet we neuertheless will and grant, that our will in no case goo further, than is contained in those articles. Contrarie to this article, gold was exacted for the Queenes workes at everie paiment made to the king: which gold was neuer demanded in time of king Henrie, or anie other king of England. Which gold yet for quietnes sake the Prince paid, though it were not spoken of or mentioned in the peace. And now further it is exacted for the old Queene the kings mother that now is (for the peace concluded with king Henrie) 2000 marks and a halfe: and vnlesse it be paid, the king threatneth to occupie the goods and lands of Llewelyn and his people, which he could find in his realme; and sell men and beasts vntill the said summe were paid.

8 ITEM when the king inuited the Prince to his feast at Worcester, promising with verie fair words, that he would



giue his kinfewoman to him to wife, and enrich him with much honour: neuertheless when he came thither, the selfe same daie they should be married before Masse, the king required a bill to be sealed by the Prince; containing amongst other things that he would neuer keep man against the kings will, nor neuer mainteine anie, whereby it might come to passe, that all the Princes force should be called from him. The which letter sealed, he deliuered the king by iust feare, which might moue anie constant man; yet was not this contained in the peace, whereas the conclusion of the peace was, that the king should require nothing that was not contained in the same.

9 ITEM where in the said peace all customes be confirmed to the said Prince, as his ancessors of long and daillie obserued custome haue receiued to their owne vse, all wrecks happening vpon his owne lands: the Iustice of Chesser took a distresse of the Prince for goods of shipwrecke receiued by him before the warres, contrarie to the forme of the said peace. By the which all trespasses of either side were remitted; and contrarie to the customes before said: and if in case it were forfeited, yet he tooke such a distresse, fiftene pounds of honie, and manie horses, and imprisoned his men. And this he tooke of the Princes owne proper goods, and further tooke booties of Bagiers which came to Lyrpools with merchandize, and neuer redeliuered the same, untill he had taken so much monie for the same, as it pleased him.

10 ITEM when certaine men of Geneurglyn had taken certaine goods of some of their neighbours of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the Prince in Meyron, the kings men of Lhanbadarn did take awaie the said goods out of the said dominion of the Prince: and when the princes men came thither, and asked the cause why they took the said preie: the kings men killed one of them, and wounded other, and the rest they did imprison, neither could

could the prince get anie iustice for the said goods to this date.

II AND where it is contained in the peace, that all things committed in the Marches, should be redressed in the Marches; yet the kings men would no where heare the princes men, but put them in the castell of Lhanbadarn: which is against the peace aforesaid. In these articles and diuers others, the king standeth sworne to the prince, and to his people. And although the prince as well by himselfe as by his people, haue often requested the king to cause the said peace to be kept, yet was it in no point kept, but daillie the kings Iustices doo more and more heape iniuries and griefs vpon the people of those parts. So that it can not be blamed, if the Prince did assent to them that first began the wars, seeing the oth which the lord Robert Typtost sware for the king, was kept in no point: and cheeflie seeing the prince was forewarned, that he should be taken so soone as the king came to Ruthlan, as he had beene in deede if the king had come thither after Christmasse, as he purposed.

#### No. IV. & VII.

*These griefes following were done by the King and his Officers, to the Lord David ap Griffyth.*

WHEN the said David came to the lord Edward then earle of Chester, and did him homage, the said lord Edward did giue by his letters patents to the said David, two Cantreds, Dyffryncluyd, and Ceinmeyrdh, with all the appurtenances: afterward when he was made king he confirmed the said gift to the said David, and gaue him possession of them. Then afterward Guenlhian Lacy died, who held some townes in the said Cantreds for terme of life: which after his decease

cease appertained to David, by force of the foresaid grant which townes yet the king tooke from him, contrarie to his letters patents.

2 ITEM, when the said David did hold of the lord the king the villages of Hope and Eston in Wales, of the which he ought to answer no man, but according to the lawes of Wales, yet the Iustice of Chester caused the said David to be called to Chester, at the sute of one William Venable an English man : to answer for the title of the said villages. And although the said David did often and instantlie desire him the said Iustice not to proceed against him iniuriouse in the countie of Chester, where he was not bound to answer by the forme of the peace : yet he plainlie denied him to be iudged either in Wales or after the lawes of Wales.

3 ITEM, the said Iustice of Chester to the iniurie of the said David, did cut downe his wood of Lhyweny, and his woods at Hope, as well by the dwellers of Ruthlan, as others : and yet the said Iustice had no iurisdiction in those parts. And not being contented to get timber there, for building, as well for Ruthlan as other places in the countie, but also destroyed the said woods, sold it, and carried it into Ireland.

4 ITEM, where the said David tooke certaine outlawes and rousers in the woods, and caused them to be hanged : yet the said Iustice accused David to the king, for succoring and mainteining the theeves aforesaid : which was not like to be true seeing he caused them to be hanged.

5 ITEM, it is provided in the peace, that all Welshmen in their causes should be iudged after the lawes of Wales. This was in no point obserued with the said David and his people. Of these foresaid greifs the said David required often amends, either according to the lawes and customes of Wales,

Wales, or of speciall favour: but he could neuer obtaine anie of them both at his hands. Further, the said Dauid was warned in the kings court, that assoone as Reginald Gray should come from the court, the said Dauid should be taken and spoiled of his castell of Hope, his woods should be cut downe, and his children taken for pledges: who seeing he had taken much paines and perill for the king in all his warres as well himselfe as his people, both in England and in Wales, and had lost thereby the most part of the nobilitie of his cuntry, and yet neuerthelesse could obtaine neither iustice, amends, nor fauour at his hands, hauing such great wrongs offered vnto him, and fearing his owne life and his childrens, or else perpetuall prison, being enforced, as it were against his will, began to defend himselfe and his people.

## No. V.

*Articles sent from the Archbishop of Canturburie, to be intimated to Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and the People of the same Countrie.*

BECAUSE we came to those parts for the spirituall and temporall health of them whom we haue euer loued well, as diuers of them haue knowne.

2 THAT we come contrarie to the will of our Lord the king, whom our said comming (as it is said) dooth much offend.

3 THAT we desire and beseech them, for the blood of our lord Iesus Christ, that they would come to an vnitie with the English people, and to the peace of our lord the king, which we intend to procure them so well as we can.

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4 WE will them to vnderstand, that we cannot long tarie in these quarters.

5 WE would they considered, that after our parting out of the countrie, they shall not perhaps find anie that will so tender the preferring of their cause, as we would doo, if it pleased God (with our mortall life) we might procure them an honest, stable and firme peace.

6 THAT if they doo contemne our petition and labour, we intend forthwith to signifie their stubbernes to the high bishop, and the court of Rome: for the enormitie that manie waies hapneth by occasion of this discord this daie.

7 LET them know, that vnlesse they doo quicklie agree to a peace, that warre shall be aggrauated against them, which they shall not be able to sustaine, for the kings power increaseth daillie.

8 LET them vnderstand that the realme of England is vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome: that the sea of Rome loueth it better than anie other kingdome.

9 THAT the said sea of Rome will not in anie wise see the state of the realme of England quaille, being vnder speciall protection.

10 THAT we much lament to heare that the Welshmen be more cruell then Saracens: for Saracens, when they take christians they keepe them to be redeemed for monie. But (they saie) that the Welshmen by and by doo kill all that they take, and are onelie delighted with blood, and sometime cause to be killed them whose ranfome they haue receiued.

11 THAT whereas they were euer woont to be esteemed, and to reuerence God and Ecclesiasticall persons, they feare much

much to revolt from that deuotion: mouing sedition and warre, and committing slaughter, and burning in the holie time. Which is great iniurie to God, wherein no man can excuse them.

12 WE desire, that as true christians they would repent, for they cannot long continue their begun discord, if they had sworne it.

13 WE will that they signifie vnto vs, how they will or can amend the trouble of the kings peace, and the hurt of the common wealth.

14 THAT they signifie vnto vs how peace and concord may be established: for in vaine were it to forme peace, to be daillie violated.

15 IF they saie that their lawes or couenants be not obserued, that they doo signifie vnto vs which those be.

16 THAT granting it that they were iniured, as they saie, (which we no waies doo know) they which were Iudges in the cause might so haue signified to the king's maiestie.

17 THAT vnlesse they will now come to peace, they shall be resisted by decree and censure of the church, besides warre of the people.

## No. VI.

*To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods grace Archbishop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, his Humble and deuout Sonne Llewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth Greeting.*

WITH all reuerend submission and honor we yeeld our most humble and hartie thanks vnto your fatherhood, for the

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great and greuous paines which at this present for the loue of vs and our nation you haue sustained : and so much the more we are beholden vnto you, for that besides the kings pleasure you would venture to come vnto vs. In that you request vs to come to the kings peace, we would haue your holinesse to know that we are most readie and willing to the same, so that our lord the king will duellie and trulie obserue and keepe the peace towards vs and ours. Moreover, although we would be glad of your continuance in Wales, yet we hope there shall not be any delaie in vs but that peace (which of all things we most desire and wish for) may be forthwith establisht, and rather by your trauell and procurement than by any other mans : so that it shall not be needefull to complaine vnto the Pope of our wilfulness : neither do we despise your fatherhoods requests and painefull trauell, but with all hartie reuerence according to our dutie do accept the same. Neither yet shall it be needefull for the lord the king to vse anie force against vs, seeing we are redie to obeie him in all things, our rights and lawes (as aforesaid) reserued. And although the kingdome of England be vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome, and with speciall loue regarded of the same : yet, when the lord the Pope and the court of Rome shall vnderstand of the great damages which are done vnto vs by the Englishmen, to wit, the articles of the peace concluded and sworne vnto, violated and broken, the robbing and burning of churches, the murdering of ecclesiasticall persons, as well religious as secular ; the slaughter of women great with child, and children sucking their mothers breasts : the destroing of hospitals, and howses of religion, killing the men and women professed in the holie places, and euen before the alters : we hope that your fatherhood, and the said court of Rome will rather with pittie lament our case, than with rigour of punishment augment our sorrow. Neither shall the kingdome of England be in anie wise disquieted or molested by our means (as is affirmed) so that we may haue the peace duellie kept

and

and obserued towards vs and our people. Who they be, which are delited with bloodshed and warre, is manifestlie apparant by their deedes and behauiour; for we would liue quietlie vpon our owne if we might be suffered, but the Englishmen comming to our cuntrye did put all to the sword, neither sparing sex, age or sicknesse, nor any thing regarding churches or sacred places, the like whereof the Welshmen neuer committed. That one hauing paid his ranfome was afterward slaine, wee are right sorie to heare of it; neither do we maintaine the offender, who escaping our hands keepeth himselfe as an outlaw in the woods and vnknown places. That some began the warre in a time not meete and conuenient, that vnderstood not we of vntill now: and yet they which did the same do affirme, that in case they had not done as they did at that time, they had bene slaine or taken themselues, being not in safetie in their owne houses, and forced continuallie for safeguard of their liues to keepe themselues in armour: and therefore to deliuer themselues from that feare, they tooke that enterprise in hand. Concerning those things which we commit against God: with the assistance of his grace, we will (as it becommeth Christians) repent and turne vnto him. Neither shall the war on our part be continued, so that we be faued harmlesse and may liue as we ought: but before we be disinherited or slaine we must defend our selues as well as we may. Of all iniuries and wrongs done by vs, we are most willing and readie (vpon due examination and triall of all trespasses and wrongs committed on both sides) to make amends to the vttermost of our power: so that the like on the kings side be performed in like manner towards vs and our people: and to conclude and stablish a peace we are most readie: but what peace can be established when as the kings charter so solemnlie confirmed, is not kept and performed? Our people are daily oppressed with new exactions: we send vnto you also a note in writing of the wrongs and iniuries which are done vnto vs contrarie to the forme of the peace before



before made. We have put our selues in armour, being driuen therevnto by necessitie: for we and our people were so oppressed, troden vnder foote, spoiled, and brought to slauerie by the kings officers, contrarie to the forme of the peace concluded against iustice, none otherwise than if we were Saracens or Lewes: whereof we haue often times complained vnto the king and neuer could get anie redresse: but alwaies those officers were afterwards more fierce and cruell against vs. And when those officers through their raine and extortion were enriched, other more hungrie than they were sent a fresh to flea those whom the other had shorne before: so that the people wished rather to die than live in such oppression. And now it shall not be needefull to leue anie armie to war vpon vs, or to moue the prelates of the church against vs, so that the peace may be obserued duilie and trulie, as before is expressed. Neither ought your holie fatherhood to giue credit to all that our aduerfaries do allege against vs: for euen as in their deeds they haue and doe oppresse vs, so in their words they will not sticke to slander vs, laieng to our charge what liketh them best. Therefore, for asmuch as they are alwaies present with you, and we absent from you, they oppressing, and we oppressed, we are to desire you euen for his sake from whom nothing is hid, not to credit mens words but to examine their deeds. Thus we bid your holines farewell. Dated at Garth Celyn, in the fcast of S. Martine.

## No. VIII.

*Griefs and Injuries ofered by the King and his Officers  
to the Men of Ros.*

THIS is the forme of peace, which the king of England did promise the men of Ros before they did him homage, which he promised them to obserue inuiolable.

That is to saie, the king should grant to euerie of them their right and iurisdiction, as they had in time of king Henrie, according as the said men doo report that they had in the time of king Henrie.

2 ITEM, the lord the king did promise the said men, that they should haue iustice in their futes: after granting of the which articles, the said men did homage to the king. And then the king promised them with his owne mouth faithfullie to obserue the said articles. This notwithstanding, a certaine noble man passing by the kings hie waie, with his wife in the kings peace, met certaine English laborers and masons going to Ruthlan where they did then worke: who attempted by force to take awaie his wife from him, and while he defended hir as well as he could, one of them killed the wife, and he who killed hir with his fellowes were taken: and when the kined of hir which was slaine required lawe at the Iustice of Chesters hands (for their kinswoman) they were put in prison, and the murtherers were deliuered.

3 ITEM, a certeine man killed a Gentleman who had killed the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn and was taken: but when certaine of the kined required iustice before the Iustice of Chester, certeine of them were imprisoned, the offender set at libertie, and iustice denied to the kined.

4 ITEM, certeine Gentleman claimed some lands, and offered the king a great peece of monie, to haue iustice by the verdict of good and lawfull men of the countrie (then the lands being adiudged to the claimers) Reginald Gray tooke the same lands, corne, goods, and all vpon the ground, so that they lost their lands, monie, corne and cattell.

5 ITEM, it is our right that no stranger should cut our woods without our leaue: yet this notwithstanding there was a proclamation at Ruthlan, that it should be lawfull for

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all other men to cut downe our woods, but to vs it was forbidden.

6 ITEM, where diuerse honest men had lands of the gift of the said David, the Iustice taketh the said mens lands awaie.

7 ITEM, when anie commeth to Ruthlan with mercha-dize, if he refuse whatsoeuer anie English man offereth, he is forthwith sent to the castell to prison, and the buier hath the thing, and the king hath the price: then the soldiours of the castell first spoile and beate the partie, and then cause him to pay the porter, and let him go.

8 ITEM, if anie Welshmen buie anie thing in Ruthlan, and anie English man doo meet him, he will take it from him, and giue him lesse than he paid for it.

9 ITEM, the king contrarie to his promise made to the men of Ros, hath giuen the territorie of Maynan, Penmayn, and Lhyfuayn.

10 ITEM, Certaine Gentlemen of the Cantred of Ros bought certeine offices, and paid their monie for the same: yet the Iustice of Chester tooke the said offices from them without cause.

See this Article again page 432. 11 ITEM, Grono ap Heilyn tooke to farme of Godfrey Marliney, the territorie of Maynan and Lhyfuayn, for the terme of foure yeares: yet Robert de Cruquer with horses and armes and foure and twentie horsfemen, came to vex the said Grono, so that he had no safe going, neither to Ruthlan nor Chester, without a great garrison of his kindred and freende.

12 ITEM, certeine Gentlemen were arrested for trespasses done before the warres and imprisoned, and could not be deliuered vntill they had paid xvi. markes, which was contrarie to the peace concluded.

13 ITEM, our causes ought to be decided after the custome of our lawes; but our men be compelled to sweare against their consciences, else they be not suffered to sweare: furthermore we spent three hundredth markes in going to the king for iustice in the foresaid articles. And when we be leved to recouer full iustice, the king sent to our parties the lord Reginald Gray, to whom the king hath set all the lands to ferme, to handle the men of the said Cantreds as it pleaseth him; who compelled vs to \*sweare in his name, whereas we should sweare in the kings name. And where the kings crosse ought to be erected, he caused his crosse to be erected, in token that he is the verie true lord: and the said lord Reginald at his first comming to those parts of Wales, sold to certeine servants of the king, offices for lx. markes, which the said seruants bought before of the king for xxiiij. markes: which offices ought not to be sold at the choise of the lord.

14 ITEM, the king gaue Meredyth ap Madoc a captaineship for his seruice, Reginald Gray tooke it from him: neither could he get anie remedie at the kings hands for the same.

15 ITEM, one of the counsell of the said Reginald, Cynwic Vadhan told vs by mouth, that as soone as the said Reginald Gray returned to Wales he would take xxiiij. men of everie Cantered, and either behead them or imprison them perpetuallie.

16 ITEM, whereas we paid our taxes and rents in old monie half a yeare before the comming of new monie, they inforced vs to paie new monie for the old.

\* To sweare by his hand, whereas we should sweare by the hand of the king.



THESE greeses and the like, the said Reginald offered vs, and threatned that if we would send anie to the king to com-  
plaine he would behead them; and when we sent anie to  
the king, he could neuer speake with the king, but spent vs  
much monie in vaine. For which greeses we beleue our  
selues free before God, from the oth which we haue made  
to the king.

## No. IX.

*These Greeses following, the King and his Iustices  
offered to Rees Vacban of Stratywy.*

AFTER that the said Rees gaue the king his castell of  
Dyneuowr, sithence the last peace, the said Rees then being  
in the tent of the lord Payne de Gadersey, at the same time  
there were slaine fixe Gentlemen of the said Reeses men, for  
whom they neuer had amends, which was to him great greese  
and losse.

2 IREM, Iohn Gifford claimed the said Reeses inheritance  
at Hiruryn, and the said Rees requested the lawe of his  
countrie of the king, or the lawe of the countie of Car-  
mardhen, in the which countie the ancestors of the said  
Rees were woont to haue lawe: when they were of the peace  
of the Englishmen, and vnder their regiment; but the said  
Rees could haue no lawe, but lost all his lands. They  
would haue had him to answer in the countie of Hereford,  
where none of his ancestors euer answered. Further in the  
lands of the said Rees were such enormities committed,  
which doo most apperteine to the state ecclesiasticall: that is  
to saie in the church of S. Dauid, which they call Lhangador,  
they made stables, and plaid the harlots, and tooke awaie  
all the goods of the said church, and burning all the houses,  
wounded

wounded the preest of the said church before the high altar, and left him there as dead.

3 IREM, in the same countrie they spoiled and burnt the churches of Dyngad, Lhantrédaff, and other churches in other parts: they spoiled their chalices, books, and all other ornaments and goods.

## No. X.

*These be the Greefes which the King and his Iustice gave to Lbwelyn ap Rees and Howel ap Rees.*

AFTER that a forme of peace was concluded betwixt Henrie then king of England, and the prince of Wales, the said king granted and confirmed by his charter to the said Prince the homage of the said noble men, so long as they stood freends with the prince, according to the said gift and confirmation: but Edward now king disherited the said Gentlemen of their lands, so that they could not haue their owne lands, neither by law nor by fauour.

## No. XI.

*These be the Greefes done by the Englishmen, to the Sonnes of Meredyth ap Owen.*

AFTER that the king had granted the Gentlemen their owne inheritance of Geneurglyn and Creuthyn, he contrarie to the peace disherited the said Gentlemen: denieng them all lawes and customes of Wales, and of the countie of Caer-mardhyn.

2 THE said king in his countie of Caerdigan by his said Iustices compelled the said Gentlemen to give indgment vpon themselves: where their predecessors neuer suffered the like of Englishmen.

3 THE said Iustices of the king haue taken awaie the courtes of the noblemen in Wales, and compelled the people to satisfe before them for trespasses: when as they ought to haue satisfied by the said nobles.

4 WHEN a wrecke hapneth vpon anie of the grounds of the noble men, whose ancestors had wrecke, they should haue the same: yet the king forbiddeth them, and the said king by color of that shipwrecke contrarie to their custome and lawe did condemne them in eight markes, and tooke away all the goods of the shipwrecke.

5 THAT none of our men of the countie of Caerdigan dare come amongst the Englishmen, for feare of imprisonment: and if it had not beene for feare of hurt, the nobles would neuer haue stirred.

## No. XII.

*The complaints of the noble Men of Stratalyn, of the Wrongs and Greefes doone to them, by Roger Clifford, and Roger Scrocbill Deputie to the said Roger Clifford: contrarie to the Priuilege, Iustice and Custome of the said noble Men, as they saie and prooue.*

WHEN the said Roger compelled the said men of Stratylyn to giue them (to haue their customes and priuileges) twentie markes starling, and after the paiement of the monie, they

they brake by and by after this sort, to put vpon twelue men according to the lawes of England, which was neuer the manner nor custome of the said countrie.

2 ITEM, Madoc ap Blethyn was condemned in foure markes vniustlie, contrarie to the lawes and vse of the countrie.

3 ITEM, Grono Goch was likewise condemned in fwe marks and twelue beasts, contrarie to the custome of the countrie.

4 ITEM, the said Roger tooke the lands of the men of the countrie as forfeit: and for one foote of a flag found in a dogs mouth, three men were spoiled of all that they had.

5 ITEM, Ithel ap Gwyfsty was condemned in a great sum of monie, for the fact of his father done fourtie yeares before.

6 ITEM, the said Roger laid vpon vs the finding of all the English soldiours, whereof before there was but one halfe.

7 ITEM, we were giuen to maister Maurice de Cruny, and were sold to Roger Clifford: which was neuer seene in our parents time.

8 ITEM, the widow of Robert of the Mowld asked of the king the third part of the land in the Mowld in ward: whereas it was iudged before the king, that the said lands were neuer giuen in ward.



## No. XIII.

*These be the Articles of Greefes doone to the Men of Penllyn, by the Constable of Henrie Chambers of the white Abbie, and bis Men.*

CYNWRIC AP MADOC was spoiled by them in time of peace, of eight pound, foure oxen, corne the worke of one plough for two yeares, and to the value of thre pound, of thre of his men, and they had the worth of xvi. pound for the said eight pound, and did beate him besides: which was more wrong, for then he was the princes constable at Penllyn. And all the cause that they pretended to make this spoile, was onelie that they said they had found foure and twentie sheafes of tyth in the house of a seruaut of the said Cynwric.

2 ITEM, Adam Criwr was condemned in eight shillings eight pence, and a mare, price twentie shillings, and was taken and beaten, for that he had taken the stealer of that mare, and brought him bound with him, the which these was forthwith deliuered.

3 ITEM, Iorwerth ap Gurgeneu was condemned in foure pound, for that he had scaped out of their prison in time of the warres, and was found in the said towne in the time of peace, and this is directlie against the peace concluded betwixt the king and the Prince.

4 ITEM, Caduan Dhu seruaut to the constable of Penllyn was condemned, bicause he would not receiue the old monie for new.

5 ITEM, Gruffyth ap Grono the Princes man was spoiled of an oxe, price eleuen shillings eight pence, and after that the

the constable had plowed with the said oxen seven months, he paid to the said Gruffyth for the said oxen, three shillings four pence.

6 ITEM, two servants of one named Y Bongam were spoiled of two pounds, for that they took a thief that robbed them by night, and yet the thief was delivered.

7 ITEM, Encon ap Ithel was taken, beaten, and spoiled of two oxen, price four and twenty shillings and two pence, for this cause onelie, that the said oxen went from one street to another in the town.

8 ITEM, Guyan Mayfran was spoiled of his money, because a certain merchant of Arduwy owed them certain things, and yet the said merchant was not of their bailiwicks.

#### No. XIV.

##### *The Greeses of Grono ap Heilyn.*

A TENANT of Grono ap Heilyn was called to the king's court without any cause: then Grono came at the day appointed to defend his tenant, and demanded justice for him, or the law which the men of his country did use: all this being denied, the said tenant was condemned in seven and twenty pound, i. d. ob. Then the said Grono went to London for justice, which was promised him, but he could never have any, where he spent in his journey fifteen marks.

2 A CERTAIN Gentleman was slain, who had fostered the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn, and he that killed him was taken and brought to Ruthlan castle: then the said Grono and the kindred of him that was slain asked justice, but some

some of them were imprisoned, and the killer discharged. Then Grono went againe to London for iustice, which the king did promise him, but he neuer had anie, but spent twentie markes.

3 THE third time Grono was faine to go to London for iustice in the premises: where he spent xvij. markes, vj. s. viij. d. And then likewise the king promised him that he should haue iustice: but when he certeinlie beleueed to haue iustice, then Reginald Gray came to the countrie and said openlie, that he had all doings in that countrie by the kings charters: and tooke away all Bailiwicks, which the king had giuen the said Grono and sold them at his pleasure: then the said Grono asked iustice of the said Reginald, but he could not be heard.

4 THE said Grono tooke to farme for foure yeares of Godfrey Marliney, Maynan and Lhysfayn, then Robert Cruquer came with his horsies and armes to get the said lands by force, and for that Grono would not suffer him to haue the said lands before his yeares came out, he was called to the law, and then the said Reginald Gray came with xxiiij. horslemen, to take the said Grono. And for that they could not that daie haue their purpose, they called Grono the next daie to Ruthlan: and then Grono had counsell not to go to Ruthlan. Then they called him againe to answer at Caerwys, but the said Grono durst not go thither, but by the conduct of the bishop of S. Asaph, for that Reginald Gray was there and his men in harnesse.

5 FOR these greeces for the which he could get no iustices, but labour and expenses, of liij. markes and more, and for that he durst not in his owne person go to the court, he sent letters, one to the king, an other to his brother Lhewelyn, to signifie to the king that he should loofe all the fauour of the countrie, if he kept no promise with them, and so it came

time to passe, because the men of Ros and Englefeld could get no iustice, the king neglecting the correction of these things, lost the whole countrie.

## No. XV.

*Humble Sheeweth to your Holines, Lord Archbishop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, the noble Men of Tegengl: that when the said noble Men did their Homage to the Lord Edward, King of England, ibe said King promised them to defend them and their Goods; and that they should vse all Kind of Right, Priuilege, and Iurisdiction, which they did vse in Time of King Henrie, of the Graunt of the said King, whereof they were after spoiled.*

FIRST they were spoiled of their right and priuileges and customes of the countrie: and were compelled to be iudged by the lawes of England, whereas the tenor of that their priuilege was to be iudged according to the lawes of Wales at Tref Edwyn, at Ruthlan, and at Caerwys, and the best men of the countrie were taken, bicause they desired to be iudged at Tref Edwyn, according to the tenor of their priuileges, by the lawes of Wales.

2 WHATSOEVER one Iustice dooth, his successor dooth reuerse the same: for in Davids cause Reginald Gray reuoked that, which his predecessor confirmed and allowed.

3 If he doo take anie Gentleman of the countrie, he will not let him go vpon suertie, which he ought to doo.

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4 I r



4 IF anie Gentleman be brought to the castell of the Flynt, vpon small accusation, and his cattell withall; they can neither be deliuered, nor haue delaie, vntill they giue the constable an oxe, and vntill they paie three pound fees to Cynwric for the hauing of the delaie.

5 REGINALD GRAY gaue the lands of the men of Merion to the Abbot and couent of Basingwerke, against the lawes of Wales and the custome of the countrie, and contrarie to the forme of the peace betwixt prince Lhwelyn and the king; that is to saie, xvi. Caratatas terræ.

6 THE noble and best of the countrie be iniured, for that the king builded the castell of Flynt vpon their ground: and the king commanded the Iustices to giue the men as much and as good ground or the price. But they are spoiled of their lands, and haue neither other lands nor monie.

7 REGINALD GRAY will not suffer men to cut their owne wood, vntill he haue both monie and reward, and vntill they paie for it also; but permitte others to cut it downe freele, which they ought not to doo by the lawes and customes of Wales.

8 WHERE the men of Cyrchynan couenant with the king to giue the king halfe a medow, of condition the king should not suffer the woods to be cut downe, Howel ap Gruffyth being present: yet Reginald Gray hath broken the same, permitting euerie man to cut their woods, and spoile them also of their medowe.

9 THE sonne of Cynwric ap Grono was taken at Ruthlan, and put in prison without anie cause at all: neither would the kings officers deliuer him, vnlesse he would redeeme the gage of a certeine woman, for the which he was constrained to paie much more than the pawne laie for.

10 WHEN the bailiffe of Ruthlan was at a feast, Hicken le Maile wounded a Gentleman cruellie in the preefence of the said bailiffe: by the occasion of which wound, Hicken was condemned in eight pound, and when he which was hurt would haue demanded the said eight pound, he was put in prison with Hicken.

11 THE messengers of Reginald Gray attempted an absurditie not heard of, requiring the people of the countrie to plow his ground, and sowe the same: and the messengers were Cynwric Says and Hicken Lemayl, and the said Cynwric sware openlie before the whole companie, that valesse all men should plow Reginald Grayes ground, they should shortlie repent it: then the people feared much, as in that case anie constant man would feare.

12 THE heires of Tegengl bought their offices for xxx. markes of the king. But afterward Reginald Gray spoiled them of their offices and monie, against the lawes and customes of England.

13 SEAUEN Gentlemen were wrongfullie killed by the Englishmen, but as yet the parents of the Gentlemen can haue no amends: and though the offenders were taken, yet the said constable let them go without punishment.

14 THE constable of Ruthlan kept two of the kings soldiours in prison, for that they tooke an Englishman, who had wounded a man.

ALL these things contained in these articles are contrarie to the priuilege, libertie and right of the said men, and contrarie to the lawes and customes of Wales: neither dare the inhabitants send their complaints to the king for feare of Reginald Gray (which feare anie constant man might haue) because the said Reginald Gray said openlie, that if he could

come

F f 2

come by anie such their messengers, he would cut off their heads, as it is certeinlie told vs by one of his counsell: further neither toong can expresse, nor penne can write, how euill the men of Tegengl haue beene ordered.

Lhwelyn

ap Gruffyth  
ap Madoc.

HUMBLE complaineth vnto your lordship, my lord Arch-bishop of Canturburie Primate of all England, Lhwelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc, of the constable of Oswaldes Crosse, the king and of the men of that towne, who haue spoiled the said Lhwelyn of the third part of a towne called Lhedrot, and his fathers house without anie law, or right, or custome of the countrie. Further the said Constable and his com-plices haue against the lawes and the custome of the countrie spoiled the said Lhwelyn of the common and pasturage, which he and his predecessors haue had and vsed time out of mind: and further condemned the said Lhwelyn for the said pasture in lxx. markes. And further the king of Eng-land granted certeine letters to a bastard called Gruffyth Vachan of Cynlhaeth, to law with the said Lhwelyn for his whole lordship and possessions; by the occasion of the which letters, the said Lhwelyn hath spent two hundredth pound of good monie.

Also the said Constable compelled the said Lhwelyn to send two of his Gentlemen to him, whom when they came to him he caused to be hanged, which Gentlemen ought not by right to haue been hanged, whose parents had rather haue giuen him three hundredth pounds.

AFTERWARD the said Constable imprisoned therefore the men of the said Lhwelyn (no cause alledged) but that certeine Page spake a word: who could not be deliuered out of prison, vntil euerie of them paid ten shillings.

WHEN the men of the said Lhwelyn came to the said towne to sell their oxen, the said Constable would cause the

beasts to be driven to the castell: neither would he restore the beastes nor monie for them. Farther, the said Constable and his men tooke awaie the cattell of the said Lhwelyn from his owne ground, and did their will with them.

FURTHER the kings Iustices compelled the said Lhwelyn, contrarie to the law and custome of Wales, to deliuer to the sonnes of Eneon ap Gruffyth, a certeine towne which both he and his ancestors euer had held. The said Constable tooke the horffe of Lhwelyns Bailiff: when the said Bailiff owed him nothing, who could neuer get his horffe againe, nor anie satisfaction for it.

FURTHERMORE when the said Lhwelyn should haue gone to a towne called Caerl'héon to appeare there as he was appointed, the sonnes of Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, and the soldiours of Roger Strainge, by the counsell of the said Roger, tooke the said Lhwelyn and his men, and imprisoned them, to their great damage; which the said Lhwelyn would not for 300. pound sterling, who could by no meanes be deliuered, vntill they had found sufficient fuerties.

THE Archbishop receiuing these and other articles, came to the king, and requested him to consider these wrongs, and to cause amends to be made, or at the least excuse the Welshmen hauing so iust cause of greefe. Who answered that the Welshmen were to be excused: yet he said he was euer readie to doo iustice to all them that complained. Wherevpon the Archbishop besought the king againe, that the Welshmen might haue free access to his Grace to declare their greefes, and to seeke remedie: the king answered they should free lie come and depart, if it should seeme that by iustice they deserued to depart.



THE Archbishop hearing this, went and came to the Prince of Wales in Snowdon, that he might moue him and his brother Dauid, and the other companie to submit themselves: whereby he might incline the king to admit them. Which after much talke and conference with the Archbishop, the Prince answered that he was readie to submit himselfe to the king, reseruing two things: that is to say, his conscience, which he ought to haue for the rule and safegard of his people: and also the decencie of his state and calling.

*Conscientia de salute populi.*  
 2. *Decorum.* Which answere the Archbishop brought, and reported to the king. At the which the king said, that he would not anie other treatie of peace, than that the Prince and his people should simplie submit themselves. But the Archbishop (knowing well that the Welshmen would not submit themselves but in the forme aforesaid, or in other forme to them tollerable and of them liked) requested the king, that he might haue conference in this matter with all the noble Englishmen then present: who after such conference agreed all to these articles following. The which articles the Archbishop did send in writing to the Prince, by Iohn Wallensis.

#### No. XVI.

*These are to be said to the Prince before his Councill.*

FIRST, that of the foure Cantreds and the lands by the king giuen to his nobles, and the Isle of Anglesey, he will haue no treatie of.

2 ITEM, of the tenants of the foure Cantreds if they will submit themselves, he purposeth to doo as becommeth a kings maiestie: and we verelie beleue he will deale with them mercifullie, and to that end we will labour and trust to obtaine.

3 As touching the lord Lhewelyn we can haue none other answer, but that he shall submit himselfe simplie to the king: and we beleue certeinlie he will deale mercifullie with him, and to that end we trauell all we can, and verilie beleue to be heard.

## No. XVII.

*These following are to be said to the Prince in Secret.*

FIRST, that the nobilitie of England haue conceiued this forme of fauorable peace, that the lord Lhewelyn should submit himselfe to the king: and the king should honorable provide for him a thousand pound starling, and some honorable countie in England. So that the said Lhewelyn would put the king in quiet possession of Snowdon: and the king will provide honorable for the daughter of Lhewelyn, according to the state and condecencie of his owne bloud, and to these they hope to perswade the king.

2 ITEM, if it happen that Lhewelyn marrie a wife, and to haue by hir anie heire male, they trust to intreate the king, that the same heire male and his heires for euer shall haue the same thousand pound and countie.

3 ITEM, to the people subiect to the said Lhewelyn the king will provide, as becommeth their estates and condition, and to that the king is well inclined.

## No. XVIII.

*These are to be said to David Brother to Llewelyn  
in Secret.*

FIRST, that if for the honor of God (Iuxta debitum crucis assumptæ) he will go to the holie land, he shall be provided for according to his degree, so that he doo not re-  
turne, vnlesse he be called by the king: and we trust to entreat the king, to prouide for his child.

2 AND these things we tell our selues to the Welshmen, that a great deale greater perill dooth hang ouer them, than we told them by mouth when we were with them: these things which we write seeme greuous, but it is a great deale more greuous to be oppressed with armes, and finally to be rooted out, bicause euerie daie more and more their danger dooth increase,

3 ITEM, it is more hard to be alwaies in warte, in anguish of mind, and danger of bodie, alwaies fought and besieged, and so to die in deadlie sinne, and continuall rancor and malice.

4 ITEM, we feare (whereof we be sorie) vnlesse you doo agree to peace, we most certeinlie will aggravate the sentence Ecclesiasticall against you for your faults: of the which you can not excuse yourselfes, whereas yee shall find both grace and mercie, if you will come to peace.

And send vs your answer of these in writing:

No. XIX.

## No. XIX.

*To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord  
Iohn by Gods Grace Archbishop of Canturburie,  
and Primate of all England, bis obedient Sonne  
Ihwelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon  
sendeth greeting.*

MOST hartly with all reuerence and honor we are content and readie holie father as you haue counselled vs, to submit our selues vnto the kings Grace, so it be in that sorte that shall be safe and honest for vs: but because that some of submiffion contained in the articles which were sent vnto us, is neither safe, nor honest, as we and our counsell do thinke (at the which articles all men do marvell :) tending rather to the destruction of vs and our people, than anie securitie and honest dealing, we may in no wise yeeld our assent vnto it, and if we should so doo, our nobles and people would not agree to the same, knowing the mischeefe and inconuenience that is like to ensue thereof. Neuertheless, we beseech your holie fatherhood, that for the reformation of a decent, honest and firme peace (for the which you haue taken so great paines) you do circumspectlie provide, hauing respect vnto the articles which we send vnto you in writing. It is more honorable for the king, and more agreeable to reason that we should hold our lands in the countrie where wee dwell, than that wee should be disinherited, and our lands giuen to other men. Dated at Garth Celyn.

No. XX.



## No. XX.

*The Answers of the Welshmen.*

FIRST. though the lord the king will have no treatie of the foure Cantreds of the lands that he gaue his nobles, nor the Isle of Anglesey; yet the Princes counsell will no peace to be made, vnlesse treatie be had of them. For that the foure Cantreds be of the more tenure of the Prince, where alwaies the Princes of Wales had more right, since the time of Camber the sonne of Brutus: so that they be of the principallitie of Wales. The confirmation of the which the Prince obtained by Othobonus the Popes legate in England, by the consent of the king and his father: as it doth appeare by the letters patents. And more iust and equall it is, that our heires doo hold the said Cantreds of the king for monie and vsed seruice, than the same be giuen to strangers, which abuse the people by force and power.

2 ALL the tenants of all the Cantreds of Wales altogether doo saie, that they dare not submit themselves to the king, to doo his pleasure. First, for that the king kept neither couenant, nor oth, nor grant by charter from the beginning, to the Prince or his people. Secondlie, for that the kings men doo cruellie exercise tyrannie towards the Church and Churchmen. Thirddie, that they be not bound to anie such matter, seeing they be the Princes tenants: who is readie to doo vsed and accustomed seruice, and to obey the king, with and by the said seruice.

3 To that which is said, that the Prince should simple commit himselfe to the kings will, it is answered, that none of vs all dare come to the king, for the causes aforesaid, we altogether will not suffer our Prince to come in that manner.

4 ITEM,

4 ITEM, where the great men of England would procure a prouision of a thousand pounds a yeare in England: let it be answered, that such prouision is not to be accepted, for that it is procured by them, who go about to disinherit the Prince to haue his lands in Wales.

5 ITEM, the Prince ought not to dismisse his inheritance, and his predeceffors in Wales, since the time of Brutus, and confirmed by the sea apostolike, as is aforesaid, and to take lands in England, where he knoweth neither toong, maners, lawes nor customs, wherein he shall be soone trapped by his neighbours the Englishmen, his old malicious enimies, whereby he should lose the land too.

6 ITEM, seeing the king goeth about to deprive him of his ancient inheritance, it is not like that he would suffer him to possesse lands in England, where he claimeth no right; seeing that the princes lands in Wales of his owne inheritance is but barren and vntilled, it is lesse like the king would suffer him to enioie good fertile ground in England.

7 ITEM, the Prince should giue the king possession of Snowdon for euer. Let it be answered, that seeing that Snowdon is of the appurtenances of the principalltie of Wales, which the Prince and his predeceffors held since the time of Brute (as it is before said) his counsell will not suffer him to renounce that place, and to take in England a place lesse due vnto him.

8 ITEM, the people of Snowdon doo saie, that although the Prince would giue the king possession of it, yet they would neuer doo homage to strangers: of whose toong, maners, and lawes they should be ignorant. For so they should be foreuer captiued and cruellie handled, as the Cantreds haue beene by the kings bailiffes and other the kings

Kings men handled more cruellie than Sarracens, as it dooth well appeare by the notes of their greefes, which the men of the Cantreds sent to you holie father.

# No. XXI.

*These are to be answered for David, the Prince  
Brother.*

WHEN he is disposed to see the holie land, he will doo it for Gods sake voluntarilie, not by such inforcement against his will: for he intendeth not to go on pilgrimage after that sort. Bicause he knoweth enforced seruice not to please God; and if he hereafter shall for deuotion see the holie land, that is no cause for euer to disinherit his offspring, but rather to reward them.

AND for that neither the Prince nor his people, for countrie nor for gaines, did moue warre, inuading no mans lands, but defending their owne lands, lawes, and liberties; and that the king and his people of inveterate hatred, and for covetousnes to get our lands inuading the same, moued warre: wee therefore see our defense is iust and lawfull, and herein wee trust God will helpe vs, and will turne his reuenge vpon destroyers of churches; who haue rooted vp and burned churches, and taken out both all sacraments and sacred things from them, killing priests, clarkes, religious, lame, dombe, deaffe, yonglings: sucking their mothers paps, weake and impotent, both man and woman, and committing all other enormities, as partie it appeareth to your holinesse. Wherefore God forbid that your holinesse should fulminate sentence against anie, but such as hath doone such things. We who haue suffered all these things at the kings officers hands, doo hope at your hands

hands remedie and comfort; and that you will punish such church robbers and killers, who can defend themselves no waies, least their impunitie be cause and example for others to do the like. Uerie manie in our countrie doo much marrell that you counselled vs to leaue our owne land, and to go to an other mans lands among our enimies to liue: for seeing we cannot haue peace in our owne land, which is our owne right, much lesse should we be quiet in an other mans, amongst our enimies. And though it be hard to liue in warre and perill, harder it is to be vtterlie destroyed and brought to nothing: especiallie for christians, seeking else nothing but to defend our owne, being by necessitie driuen therevnto, and the greedie ambition of our enimies.

AND your holinesse told vs, that you had fulminated sentence against all that for hatred or gaines doo hinder the peace. And it appeareth euidentlie who doo war for these causes, the feare of death, the feare of imprisonment, the feare of perpetuall prison, the feare of disinheriting, no keeping of promise, coudenant, grant, nor charter, tyrannicall dominion, and manie more like compell vs to be in warre, and this we shew to God and to your lordship, desiring your godlie and charitable Helpe.

FURTHERMORE, if anie in England haue offended the king (as manie doo offend him) yet none of them be disinherited: so if anie of vs haue offended the king, let him be punished and make satisfaction, as he maie, without exhereditating. As we trust in you, we praie you holie Father to labour to this end. If they laie to vs that we breake the peace, it appeareth euidentlie that they and not we breake the same, who neuer kept promise, nor coudenant, nor order, made anie amends for trespasses, nor remedie for our complaints.

Rex



Rex omnibus, &c.

SCIATIS quod cum Lewelinus princeps de Aberffraw & dominus Snawerden, nobis concesserit & firmiter promiserit, quod stabit prouisioni venerabilium patrum Radulphi Cicestrensis episcopi & cancellarii nostri, & Alexandri Conuentrensis & Lichfield episcopi, & dilectorum & fidelium nostrorum Richardi Marefchalli comitis Pembroch, Joannis de Lasfy comitis Lincolnæ & constabularri Cestriæ, Stephani de Segrave Justiciarii nostri Angliæ, & Radulphi filii Nicholai Seneschalli nostri, una cum Idnevet Seneschallo ipsius Lewelini & Werrenoc fratre ejus, Imano Vachan & David Clerico, quam ipsi facturi sunt super congruis emendis nobis faciendis, de omnibus excessibus nobis & nostris, ab eo & suis factis & de restitutione nobis & hominibus nostris faciendâ de omnibus terris & possessionibus nostris & nostrorum per ipsum Lewelinum & Wallenses occupatis, occasione Werræ inter nos & ipsum motæ; simul etiam de recipienda restitutione a nobis & nostris, de omnibus terris ipsius Lewelini & hominum suorum per nos & nostros occupatis, occasione Werræ prædictæ, & de assignando David filio ipsius Lewelini & Isabellæ uxori ejus primogenitæ filiæ & hæreditis Gullielmi de Breus, rationabili portione ipsam Isabellam contingente, de terris quæ fuerunt prædicti Gullielmi patris sui, & de refusione pecuniæ nobis, faciendâ, pro prædicti excessibus congrue emendandis & portione prædicta assignanda; provisâ tamen super hoc ab eisdem sufficiente securitate de fideli seruitio nobis præstando & de tranquillitate nobis & regno nostro Angliæ, observanda. Ita quod dampnum vel periculum, nec nobis nec regno nostro inde possit evenire. Et si pendente prouisione prædicta, aliquid de novo emerit emandandum, idem Lewelinus voluerit & concesserit, quod per prædictos provisos emendetur. Nos prouisionem eorundem quam facturi sunt super omnibus præmissis, gratam habemus

habemus & acceptam pro nobis, & nostris sicut præfatus Lewelinus pro se & suis & in hujus rei testimonium has literas patentes inde fieri fecimus. Teste me ipso apud Salop septimo die Decembris, & decimo septimo anno regni nostri.

Rex, &c.

LEWELINO principi de Aberfraw salutem. Sciatis. quod recipimus in gratiam nostram, Gilbertum Marescallum & omnes qui fuerunt imprisii Richardi Marescalli tam de Angliâ quam de Walliâ qui ad pacem nostram venire voluerunt & eis reddidimus omnes terras & tenementa sua quæ de nobis tenuerunt, & de quibus disseisiti fuerunt occasione guerræ motæ inter nos & prædictum comitem, & nobis remanent quæcunque super nos & nostros per prædictum comitem, vel suos imprisios occupata fuerunt quæ vobis duximus significanda. Volentes quod vobis innotescant quæ penes nos acta sunt in hac parte, & quia per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & co episcopos suos captæ sunt treugæ inter nos & vos sub firma spe tractandi de pace inter nos & vos formanda & fortius firmanda. Mitimus propter hoc prædictum archiepiscopum & venerabiles patres Alexandrum Coventrensem & Lichfeldensem & Henricum Roffensem co episcopos suos ad partes marchiarum; ita quod erunt apud Salop die Lunæ in crastino sanctæ trinitatis: et rogamus vos quatenus sicut nostram desideratis amicitiam non omittatis quin in crastino die Martis loco tuto & competenti, quem prædictus archiepiscopus vobis significabit ipsi archiepiscopo & coepiscopus suis occurratis ad tractatum cum eis habendum super præmissis. In quorum etiam ore quædam quæ non duximus scripto commendanda posuimus vobis plenius exponenda; rogantes quatinus sicut decet taliter ea quæ reformationem pacis respiciunt & quæ ipsi plenius in hac parte vobis explicabunt audire cum effectu & eisdem adquiescere velitis, quod non stet per vos quin firrum & stabile pacis vinculum inter nos &

vos

vos roboretur ad nostrum pariter & vestrum commodum & honorem.

Rex, &c.

DILECTO & fideli suo Richardo comiti Cornubiæ & Picaviæ salutem. Sciatis quod treugæ captæ sunt inter nos & Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw per venerabilem patrem Edmundum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem & episcopos secum adjuntos & quosdam alios fideles nostros propter hoc ad partes Walliæ destinatos duraturæ a festo Sancti Jacobi anno regni nostri decimo octavo usque in duos annos sequentes in hac forma. Quod omnes injuriæ & dampnæ hinc inde factæ infra ultimam treugam captam per venerabilem patrem Henricum Rossensem episcopum in media quadregesima proximo præterita per dictatores ejusdem treugæ emendabuntur, quod omnes terræ hinc inde occupatæ per ultimam guerram motam, restituentur his quibus postea sint oblatae, homines etiam illi qui hinc inde recefferint a fidelitate dominorum suorum & se tenuerunt ex parte adversa libere revertantur. Ita quidem quod durantibus treugis prædictis in nullo occasionabuntur nec aliquid dampni vel mali eis fiet occasione prædicta. Adjunctum est etiam in eadem provisione treugarum; quod si vos & dilectus & fidelis noster Radulphus de Thorny nolueritis sub eisdem treugis comprehendi bene placebit eidem Lewelino. Sin autem nihilominus, quod ad nos & alios fideles nostros eas firmiter observabit. Et sub tali conditione quod si forte tenere non velletis contra vos se defendet. Ita quod contra ipsum & defensionem suam nullum vobis faciemus nec facere poterimus per nos vel per aliquem de marchia vel alium interim consilium vel auxilium ad ipsum gravandum, & taliter sunt treugæ prædictæ ex parte ipsius Lewelini juratæ & assecuratæ & in adveniu prædicti archiepiscopi ad nos similiter ex parte nostra eas jurari faciemus & assecurari, & ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus prædictis treugis sine difficultate ali-

quâ

quâ adguiescentes eas teneatis & ex parte vestra eas teneri faciatis. Quia modis omnibus volumus quod eas teneatis & firmiter observetis. Quid autem inde facere proposueritis aperte responsum vestrum nobis sub festinatione scire faciatis. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Junii.

RADOLPHUS Herefordensis episcopus, decanus Herefordiæ, Walterus de Cliford & Walterus de Bello Campo iurum constituti sunt dictatores emendarum, faciendarum & recipiendarum de interceptionibus factis, ut dicitur Lewelino principi de Aberfraw, &c. et Morganô de Carleon quoad castrum Carleon & eisdem dictatoribus associati sunt prior de Wenloc & Joannes extraneus & debent convenire in crastino clausi Paschæ apud vadum de Montgomery ad consequendum quod priore die ad hoc constituto debuisset fuisse executum. Teste rege apud Northampton sexto die Martii.

REX omnibus ad quod præsentis literæ pervenerint. Sciatis quod concessimus bona fide & sine malo ingenio & ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Theokiburiam die Veneris in festo Sancti Benedicti, anno regni nostri vicefimo per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum inter nos et omnes homines et imprisios nostros apertos ex una parte, et Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw et dominum de Snaudan et omnes homines et imprisios suos apertos tam Wallenses quam alios ex alia parte duraturos a festo Sancti Jacobi, anno eodem usque in unum annum completum. Ita scilicet quod tam nos et nostri quam prædictus Lewelinus et sui simus in eisdem terris et tene-mentis, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuimus prædicto die captionis treugarum istarum. Salva Morgano de Carleon restitutione sua tam de terris quam de bonis et mobilibus suis quæ comes Gilbertus Marefchallus occupaverat, super eum infra treugas alias inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum ultimo captas. Siquid autem interim fuerit foris factum per captionem



tionem terrarum vel castrorum vel bonorum mobilium et manifestum de captione terrarum vel castrorum illorum terrarum et castra statim reddantur non expectata aliqua correctione emendatorum treugarum, sed de bonis mobilibus ita capis per ipsos correctores fiant emendæ, treugis nihilominus durantibus in suâ firmitate in forma prædicta. Ita quod hinc inde nulla namia capiantur pro aliqua interceptione facta infra treugas istas de bonis mobilibus, nec pro aliqua contentione ante captionem huius treugæ orta, sed per ipsos correctores fiant. Nullus etiam receptet in potestate suâ impios aliterius inde emendæ sicut prædictum est durantibus treugis. Nullum etiam castrum novum firmetur in marchia vel districtum reficiatur durantibus treugis, et terræ sint communes secundum formam treugarum quæ ultimo captæ fuerunt inter nos et ipsum Lewelinum. Juraverunt autem in animam nostram ex parte nostra in hanc treugam bona fide, et sine malo ingenio fideliter observandam usque ad prædictum terminum dilecti et fideles nostri Henricus de Aldithely. Joannes Lestrangle et Henricus de Stafford, in cuius, &c. Teste me ipso apud Theokesburiam, undecimo die Julii, anno regni nostri vicefimo.

SCIANT præsentēs et futuri, quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte, et David filium Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et dominum de Aberfraw ex altera, apud Gloucestriam die Martii proximo ante festum Sancti Dunstanni, anno regni ipsius regis vicefimo quarto, de homagio ipsius David quod ipse offerrebat eidem domino regi pro jure suo Norwalliæ et de terris quas barones ipsius domini regis scilicet Griffinus filius Wennuwan et alii barones domini regis petebant versus ipsam David ut jura sua excepta de monte alto secundum quod continetur in scripto nuper confecto apud cruceum Griffini per Seneschallos domini regis, quæ ad præsens excipitur arbitrio, salvo tamen in posterum jure seneschalli Cestrie in terra illa si quod habent. Scilicet, quod prædictus dominus

rex cepit homagium præfati David de prædicto jure suo Norwalliæ, et quod tam idem dominus rex pro præfatis baronibus suis de consensu eorundem quam præfatus David pro se et suis et hæredibus eorum super omnibus terris prædictis se submiserunt, arbitrio venerabilium patrum Ottonis Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconi, cardinalis apostolici sedis legati; Wigornix et Norwici episcoporum, et nobilis viri Richardi comitis Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ, fratris ipsius domini regis, et Joannis de Monemue ex parte ipsius domini regis, et venerabilis patris episcopi de Sancto Asaph Idnevet Vaghan, Eynguan Vaghan ex parte præfati David. Ita quod quomodo libet ab ipsis omnibus vel à majori parte eorundem, super præmissis fuerit arbitratum, utraque pars ipsorum stabit arbitrio et illud in perpetuum firmiter observabit; et ad hæc fideliter sine fraude servanda Gulielmus de Cantelupo de præcepto regis juravit in animam ipsius regis et idem David in propria persona sua corporate præstitit sacramentum. Et insuper se submiserunt jurisdictioni et Inordinationi præfati domini legati quamdiu in Anglia legationis fungatur officio, ut partem contra præmissa venientem per censuram ecclesiasticam modis omnibus quibus melius viderit expedire, tam ad prædictum arbitrium observandum quam ad transgressiorem contra illud perpetratam emendam valeat coercere, ordine juris observato. Dum tamen idem David vel sui, si forsitan contra prædicta venire presumpserint prius coram dicto domino legato vel aliquibus aliis ad hoc ab ipso deputatis et partibus merito non suspectis in confinio marchiarum loco eidem David et suis tuto legitime communicantur, si ad hoc vocati venirent: vel si legitimè vocati non venerint pro contumaciis habeantur nisi rationabile et sufficiens habeant impedimentum, finito vero prædictæ legationis officio sub forma precepta et coercioni et jurisdictioni domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et successorum suorum et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis se partes prædictæ submiserunt. Et sciendum quod per hanc pacem remanent domino regi et hæredibus suis cuncta homagia baronum Walliæ quæta, et remittuntur

G g 2

omnia

omnia incendia, homicidia, et alia mala tam ex parte Anglicorum quam Wallensium perpetrata; ita quod ad invicem plene reconciliantur. Salvo præfati David jure suo, si quod habet in aliis terris. Et si forte aliquis prædictorum arbitrorum ante hoc arbitrium completum in fata decesserit, vel per impedimentum rationabile prædicto arbitrio faciendo non possit interesse; alius loco suo substituetur qui neutri partium merito suspectus habeatur: ad hoc præfati episcopus de Sancto Asaph Idnevet et Ignan et Griffinus filius Rotherich præfiterunt sacramentum, quod quantum in eis est, prædicti fideliter observabunt et ab ipso David et suis modis omnibus quibus poterunt, facient observari: ad majorem autem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsos regem et David in modo chirographi. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum ipsum una cum sigillo prædictorum episcoporum de Sancto Asapho Idnevet, Ignan et Griffini, et parti penes ipsum David remanenti appositum est sigillum domini regis: his testibus venerabilibus patribus Ottone Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono, cardinali apostolice sedis legato; Waltero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, Waltero Careleoleni, Waltero Wygornensi et Guilelmo Norwicensi episcopis; Richardo comite Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ fratre domini regis, venerabili patre episcopo de Sancto Antando; seneschallis nostris Joanne extraneo. Edmunda Watham, Griffino filio Rotherich, David archidiacono de Sancto Asaph et aliis.

#### Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewellini salutem. Bene recolimus qualiter nos vobis nuper in mandatis dedimus, quod coram nobis apud Wigorniam comparetis ad providendum arbitris quod loco eorum qui primo ad hoc electi fuerint et qui ad partem recesserunt transmarinas, justitiam secundum formam præ-

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inter et vos provide singulis conquerentibus exhiberent; et in arbitrio prædicto secundum formam debitam procederent et similiter ad justitiam recipiendam de portione uxorem vestram contingente de hæreditate suâ: et similiter ad standum recto super his de quibus seneschallus de monte alto et aliis de vobis sunt conquesti. Et quia ad diem et locum vobis præfixos non accessistis, sed literas vestras nobis misistis; continentibus quod tres ex vestris ad nos loco vestro destinastis, ex quibus tantum unus ad nos accessit qui ad præmissa adimplenda nullam potestatem habuit; unde quibusdam ex nostris visum fuerat quod hoc malitiose et ut subterfugium quæreretur per vos factum fuit. Nos tamen hoc non credentes sed fidelitatem vestram adhuc magis probare volentes, vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, præcipiendo quatinus omni occasione postposita personaliter compareatis apud Salop, die dominica ante dominicam palmarum coram fidelibus nostris quos illuc duxerimus transmittendos ad consentiendum in personas certas, ad procedendum in arbitrio prædicto loco eorum qui ad partes transmarinas recesserunt et ad faciendum in eodem arbitrio id quod adhuc restat faciendum; et ad recipiendum justitiam de portione uxorem vestram de hæreditate sua contingente et ad standum recto seneschallo Cestriæ et aliis de vobis conquerentibus. Quod si personaliter ad hoc faciendum venire non possitis tales loco vestro mittatis qui plenam potestatem habeant hæc omnia nomine vestro faciendi. Nos enim vobis et vestris per eos quos ibidem mittimus aut per nosmet ipsos saluum et securum provideri faciemus conductum. Teste rege apud Wudestock decimo nono die Februarii.

ANNO domini millesimo ducentesimo quadagesimo primo, die dominica proxima ante inventionem sanctæ crucis assignata, David filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et marchionibus ad consentiendum in arbitros sustituendos loco absentium et ad faciendam et recipiendam justitiam secundum formam pacis conventæ inter dominum regem et dictum Da-

G 3

vid



vid comparuit Thudius seneschallus ipſius David, cancellarius et Philippus filius lbor clericus ex parte David procuratores; oſtendentes literas ipſius David, in quibus dictus David promittebat ſe ratum habiturum quicquid per ipſos fieret ſecundum formam pacis ſupradictæ. Radulphus vero de mortuo mari et Rogerus ſenſchallus Ceſtriæ et Grifſinus pro ſe et aliis marchionibus comparuerunt; petentes inſtanter quod ſecundum dicta teſtium productorum coram domino Stephano de Segrave, et conſudicibus ſuis vicem domini regis gerentibus apud Salop eiſdem exhiberetur iuſtitiz complementum. Sed contra procuratores præfati David aſſerebant dictos reſtes non eſſe receptos ſecundum formam pacis. Quare ſecundum dicta eorum non dicebat nec poterat iudicari. Tandem continuata die et altercatione magna ſuper hoc et aliis habitis inter partes, forma pacis prædictæ producta in medio viſaque et perfectæ loco abſentium arbitrorum ſcilicet domini Otonis Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis, domini Papæ quondam legati in Anglia Wigornenſis et Norwicenſis episcoporum ſubrogati ſunt per dominum regem de conſenſu dictorum procuratorum episcopus Coventrenſis, Johannes filius Galfridi et Herebertus filius Matthæi, et Walterus de Clifſord: quibus data eſt eadem poteſtas quam haberent abſentes ſi præſentes eſſent ſecundum formam pacis prædictæ et aſſignata eſt dies partibus à die Pentecoſtes proximo in unum menſem apud pontem de Maneford ultra Salop ad probanda hinc inde ſive per productos teſtes; non obtinente productione jam facta per alios et quolibet probationis genere ſive per inſtrumenta, ſive alio modo quæ voluerunt et ſibi noverint expedienda; et illa die dabitur alia ad iudiciuſ audiendum ſecundum probata coram eiſdem arbitris iuxta formam pacis ſuperius prælibatæ.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ salutem. Ex certâ quorundam relatione didicimus quod vos contra juramentum nobis præstitum quosdam fratres Griffini filii Madoe et etiam quosdam homines nostros de Keri, qui homagia nobis fecerunt vobis confederatis et ab obsequio et fidelitate nostra subtraxistis et fratres prædicti Griffini contra nos in terra vestra receptatis. Tres quidem de seneschallis vestris in succursum eorum qui expugnant dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari destinatis cædes et incendia per vos et vestros in terra sua et terris aliorum fidelium committendo, terras etiam quæ in curia nostra abjudicatae fuerunt Oweno Vaghan et nepotibus suis, eis contra iustitiam deforciatis, non permittentes quod executio fiat de his quæ in curia nostra sunt considerata. Quandam etiam navem Cestriæ quæ in potestate vestra applicuit cartata blado et aliis victualibus arefari fecistis per vos et gentem vestram, in nullo his quorum bladum et victualia fuerint inde satisfaciētes super quibus non modicum admiramur et movemur; et multo fortius quod cum auper missis nuntios vestros solempnes usque Salop, utpote venerabilem patrem Henricum Coventrensem et Lichfeldensem episcopum, et dilectos et fideles nostros Joannem filium Galfridi, et Henricum de Adtheleg paratos ad emendas faciendas et recipiendas de interceptionibus factis, tam ex parte nostra, quam ex parte vestra, vos tanquam in contemptum nostrum prædictis fidelibus nostris non occurristis, nec per aliquos de vestris in eorum occursum mittere curastis, quod quidem ægre nos movet cum tot et tantas injurias quas longum esset enumerare contra nos et nostros nullo modo attemptare debuistis: et ideo vobis mandamus quod prædictos fideles nostros tam fratres prædicti Griffini quam homines nostros de Keri quos a fidelitate nostra subtruxistis ad fidem nostram redire faciatis. Non impediētes quin prædictus Owenus Vaghan et nepotes sui secūndum

G g 4

dum abjudicatum est in curia nostra terris suis gaudere possint et eas pacificè possidere. Id etiam quod contra dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari et alios fideles nostros et etiam quod de navi illa Cestrensi attemptatis, sic emendari faciatis; quod nobis non relinquatur materia injurias prædictas gravius ulciscendi quod nollemus. Nec omitatis quin citra festum Sancti Petri ad vincula nobis significetis qualiter dampna et injurias prædictas, quæ nullo modo dissimulare poterimus nobis emendare volueritis. Teste rege apud Merlebergh, quarto decimo die Julii.

SCIANT præsentēs et futuri quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte et senanam uxorem Griffini filii Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, quem David frater ejus tenet carceri mancipatum cum Owen filio suo nomine ejusdem Griffini ex altera; scilicet quod prædicta Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo quo dabit domino regi sexcentas marcas, ut rex eum et prædictum Owen filium suum liberari faciat a carcere dederi. Et ut rex postea judicio Curiae suæ secundum legem Walensem ei et hæredibus suis habere faciat super portione quæ eum continget de hereditate quæ fuit prædicti Lewelini patris sui et quam prædictus David ipsi Griffino deforciavit. Ita si quod idem Griffinus vel hæredes sui per considerationem curiæ domini regis reciperent portionem quam se dicunt contingere de hereditate prædicta, eadem Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino et hæredibus suis quod ipse et hæredes sui perpetuum inde reddent domino regi et hæredibus suis trecentas marcas annuas. Scilicet tertiam partem in denariis et tertiam partem in bobus et vaccis, et tertiam partem in equis per æstimationem legalium hominum liberandas vicecomiti Salop, apud Salop, et per manum ipsius vicecomitis ad saccharium regis deferendas et ibidem liberandas scilicet unam medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad pascham. Eadem etiam Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo et hæredibus suis quod firmam pacem

pacem tenebunt cum præfato David super portione quæ eidem David remanebit de hæreditate prædicta; manucepit etiam Senana pro præfato Griffino et hæridibus suis, quod si aliquis Walensis aliquo tempore regi vel hæredibus suis rebellis extiterit, præfatus Griffinus et hæredes sui ad cultum suum proprium ipsum compellent ad satisfaciendum domino regi et hæredibus suis. Et de his omnibus supradictis observandis, dicta Senana dabit domino regi David et Rothery filios suos obsoles: Ita tamen quod si de præfato Griffino et Oweno, filio suo qui cum eo est in carcere humanitus contingat antequam inde deliberentur; alter prædictorum filiorum eidem Senanæ reddetur reliquo obside remanente: juravit insuper Senana tactis sacro-sanctis evangelis pro se et præfato Griffino et heredibus suis quod hæc omnia firmiter observabunt. Et manucepit quod præfatus Griffinus idem jurabit cum à carcere liberatus fuerit, et super præmissis se submitit nomine dicti Griffini jurisdictioni Herefordensis et Coventrensis episcoporum. Ita quod præfati episcopi, vel alter eorum quem dominus rex elegerit ad requisitionem ipsius regis per sententias excommunicationis in personas et interditi in terras eorum coerceant ad omnia prædicta et singula observanda. Hac omnia manucepit prædicta Senana et bona fide promisit se facturam et curaturam quod omnia impleantur, et quod præfatus Griffinus cum liberatus fuerit, et hæredes sui hæc omnia grata habebunt et complebunt et instrumentum suum inde dabunt domino regi in forma prædicta. Ad majorem siquidem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsum dominum regem et præfatam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini viri sui. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum præfati Griffini per manum præfatæ Senanæ uxoris suæ una cum sigillo ipsius Senanæ; et parti remanenti penes ipsam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini appositum est sigillum ipsius domini regis: de supradictis etiam omnibus complendis et firmiter observandis dedit prædicta Senana nomine præfati Griffini domino regi plegios subscriptos, viz. Radulphum de Mortuo Mari,



Mari, Walterum de Clifford, Rogerum de Monte alto senescallum Cestriæ, Mailgun, filium Mailgwn, Mereduc filium Roberti, Griffinum filium Maddoc de Baunfeld, Howel et Mereduc fratres ejus, Griffinum filium Wennwen, qui hæc omnia pro præfata Senana manuceperunt et cartas suas ipsi domino regi inde fecerunt. Actum apud Salop die Lunæ proxima ante assumptionem beatæ Mariæ anno ipsius regis vicefimo quinto.

OMNIBUS hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de Monte Alto seneschallus Cestriæ salutem. Sciatis quod ego me constitui plegium Senanæ uxoris Griffini filii Leolini quondam principis Norwalliæ, et manu cepi pro ea erga dominum meum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem, quod omnia quæ conventionavit eidem domino meo nomine præfati viri sui a carcere in quo David frater ejus eos detinet et pro portione quæ ipsum Griffinum contingit de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris suis et quam præfatus David frater ejus ei deforciat, domino regi firmiter observabit. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Actum apud Salopeshury die Lunæ ante assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni ipsius vicefimo quinto.

Sub eadem forma fecerunt singuli plegii præscripti.

SCIANT præsentis et futuri quod ego Mereducus filius Howel, tactis sacrosanctis juravi quod ab isto die in antea omaibus diebus vitæ meæ ero ad fidelitatem domini regis Angliæ, et serviam ei fideliter et devote cum omnibus viribus meis et toto posse meo quodocunque indiguerit servitio meo, et treugam inter dominum Radulphum de Mortuo Mariæ me initam usque ad festum S. Michaelis anno regni regis Henrici vicefimo quinto ex parte mea fideliter observabo: et tam ad fidelitatem domino regi in perpetuum observandum quam ad treugas prædictas observandas usque ad terminum prædictum supposui me jurisdictioni domini Herefordensis episcopi,

episcopi, et domini Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis episcopi, vel alterius eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, ut si in aliquo contra prædictam fidelitatem domini regis, vel contra observantiam prædictarum trugarum venerit, liceat eis vel eorum alteri quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit personam meam et omnes meos excommunicare et terram meam interdicere, donec de transgressione ipsam satisfecero ad plenum. Et si forsitan infra prædictum festum S. Michaelis inter prædictum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me nulla pax fuerit formata, licet post festum illud bellum moveant prædicto Radulpho, non obligabit me prædictum juramentum dum tamen erga dominum regem fidelitatem observam continuam, sicut prædictum est. Et si bellum post prædictum terminum inter nos moveatur, nihilominus dominus refutinebit quod ego et mei receptemur in terra sua sicut alii fideles sui. Ad prædicta autem observanda domino regi et hæredibus suis obligo me per juramentum prædictum, et per sigilli mei appositionem quod huic scripto apposui, ad maiorem confirmationem prædictorum. Actum in crastino assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

SUB eisdem verbis fecerunt domino regi chartas suas, Owen filius Howel. Mailgon filius Mailgun. Meredud filius Meredud. Howel filius Cadwachlan, et Cadwachlan filius Howel.

OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerunt, David, filius Leolini, salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illustri filio domino Joannis regis: quod deliberabo Griffinum fratrem meum quem teneo incarceratum una cum filio suo primogenito et aliis qui occasione prædicti Griffini sunt in parte mea incarcerati, et ipsos eidem domino meo regi tradam. Et postea sub juri curiæ ipsius domini regis tam super eo, utrum idem

idem Griffinus debeat teneri captus quam super portione terræ quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris mei, si qua ipsum Griffinum contingere debeat, secundam consuetudinem Wallensium. Ita quod pax servetur inter me et prædictum Griffinum fratrem meum quod caveatur de ipsa tenenda secundum considerationem curiæ ipsius domini regis, et quod tam ego quam prædictus Griffinus portiones nostras que nos contingunt de prædictis terris tenebimus in capite de prædicto domino rege. Et quod reddam Rogero de Monte Alto seneschallo Cestriæ terram suam de Monthaut cum pertinentiis: et sibi et aliis baronibus et fidelibus domini regis scissinas terrarum suarum occupatarum a tempore belli orti inter ipsum dominum Johannem regem et prædictum Leolinum patrem meum, salvo jure proprietatis cujuslibet patris et instrumenti super quo stabitur juri hinc inde in curia ipsius domini regis: et quod reddam ipsi domino regi omnes expensas quas ipse et sui fecerunt occasione exercitus istius. Et quod satisfaciam de damnis et injuriis illatis sibi et suis secundum considerationem prædictæ curiæ vel malefactores ipsos, ipsi domino regi reddam omnia homagia quæ dominus Johannes rex pater ejus habuit, et quæ dominus rex de jure habere debet; et specialiter omnium nobilium Wallensium. Et quod idem dominus rex non dimittit aliquem de suis captivis quin ipsi domino regi et suis remaneant seisinæ suæ. Et quod terra de Engusmere cum pertinentiis suis in perpetuum remanebit domino regi, vel hæredibus suis, et quod de cætero non receptabo vilagas vel foris banniatos ipsius domini regis, vel baronum suorum de marchia in terra mea, nec permittam receptari; et de omnibus articulis supradictis, et singulis firmiter et in perpetuum observandis, domino regi et hæredibus suis, pro me et hæredibus meis cavebo per obsides et pignora et aliis modis quibus dominus rex dicere voluit vel dicente. Et in his et in omnibus aliis statbo voluntati, et mandatis ipsius domini regis et juri parebo omnibus in curia sua. In cujus rei testimonium, præsentem scriptum sigillum meum appendi. Actum apud Atricum juxta fluvium

Elvey de S. Asapho in festo decollationis S. Johanni Baptiste, anno prædicti domiregis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

SCIENDUM quod illi qui capti detinentur cum prædicto Grifino, eodem modo tradentur domino regi donec per curiam suam consideratum fuerit, utrum et quomodo debeant deliberari. Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda, ego David juravi super crucem sanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Verabilis etiam pater Howelus episcopus de S. Asaph ad petitionem meam firmiter promissit in ordine suo, quod hæc omnia prædicta faciet, et procurabit modis quibus poterit, observari. Ednevet siquidem Waugam per præceptum meum, illud idem juravit super crucem prædictam. Actum ut supra. Præterea concessi pro me et hæredibus meis quod si ego, vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini regis, vel hæredium suorum, vel contra articulos prædictos, aliquid attentaverimus tota hæreditas nostra domino regi, et hæridibus suis incurrat. De quibus omnibus et singulis suppositis, me, et hæredes meos, jurisdictioni archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et episcoporum Londinensis, Herefordensis, et Coventrensis, qui pro tempore præerant, quod omnes, vel unus eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, possit nos excommunicare, et terram nostram interdicare, si aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi quod episcopi de Bangor et de S. Asaph chartas suas domino regi fecerunt per quas concesserunt, quod omnes sententias tum excommunicationis quam interdicti à prædictis archiepiscopo, episcopis, vel aliquo eorum, ferendas ad mandatum eorum exequentur.

Rex omnibus, &c.

DAVID filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, Salutem. Noverint universitas vestra me spontanea voluntate mea pepegisse domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ, quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino regi, et hæredibus suis omnibus



omnibus diebus vitæ nostræ constanter et fideliter servemus, nec aliquo tempore contra eos erimus : quod si forte evenierit, quod à fidei servicio suo, vel hæredum suorum, quod absit, recesserimus, tota terra nostra erga ipsum dominum regem et hæredes suos incurrat, et in usus eorum perpetuis cedat temporibus. Hanc autem pactionem et concessionem sigilli mei appositione roboravi, et ad majorem hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorenses, et de S. Asaph episcopi, ad petitionem meam præseni scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Rotheran tricesimo primo die Augusti.

ILLUSTRI viro domino Hentico Dei gratia regi Anglorum, &c. abbates Haberconwiæ, et de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis inquisitores dati a domino Papâ, salutem in domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recipimus in hac verba, « Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbatibus de Haberconwiæ, & de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis Bangorum diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii nostri nobilis viri David principis Norwalliæ fuit propositum coram nobis, quod eum inter ipsum, quem parentes ejus in alumnum Romanæ ecclesiæ donaverunt, et Charissimum in Christo filium nostrum regem Anglorum illustrem bellum longo tempore perdurasset, tandem postquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem nostrum episcopum de S. Asaph et collegas ipsius de stando hinc inde eorum arbitrio super omnibus querelis juramento a partibus præstito concorditer bonis viris mediantibus compromissum. Idem rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio sibi super hoc aliquid attentare non licebit in prædictum principem ex inspirato hostiliter iruit ad præstandum, quod super prædictis de quibus compromissum fuerit et juratum, ac aliis ipsis regis, mandare per vim computit, & metum qui cadere poterat in constantem.

Cum igitur ea quæ vi & metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus inquisita super hoc diligentius veritate, si rem inveneritis ita esse, auctoritate nostra prædictam principem ab observatione sic extorti juramenti penitus absolventes, sententia, si qua occasione ejusmodi in ejus personam, vel terram ab aliquo forsan tota fuerit, juxta formam ecclesiæ sine difficultate qualibet, sicut justum fuerit relaxetis. Testes vero, &c. Datum Januæ septimo calendæ Augusti pontificatus nostri anno secundo. Hujus igitur auctoritate muniti vobis mandamus quatenus in vigilia S. Agnetis Virginis, apud Keyrus in ecclesia Gustefend coram vobis compareatis, super contentis in autentico dicto principi responsuri, si vobis videritis expedire.

*Isti sunt ARTICULI intimati Domino LEOLINO  
Principi WALLIÆ, et populo ejusdem loci, ex  
parte Archiepiscopi supra dicti.*

PRIMO, Quod propter salutem eorum spirituales, et temporalem ad partes istas venimus, quas semper dileximus, et plures eorum noverunt.

SECUNDO, Quia venimus contra domini regis voluntatem, cui etiam adventus noster dicitur plurimum displicere.

TERTIO, Quia rogamus eos et supplicamus eis pro sanguine Jesu Christi, quatenus venire velint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini regis, quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus procurare.

QUARTO, Volumus eos scire quod in his partibus domini non poterimus remanere.

QUINTO,

Quinto, Volumus eos attendere quod post recessum nostrum non invenient aliquem, qui ita velit sua amplius negotia promovenda, qui vellemus, si placeret. Altissima vita nostra temporali corporum pacem honestam et stabilem perpetuo procurasse.

Sexto, Quia si nostras preces spreverint et labores, statim intendimus eorum pertinaciam scribere summo pontifici et curiæ Romanæ, propter peccata mortalia, quæ multiplicentur occasione discordiæ omni die.

Septimo, Noverint quod nisi citius ad pacem venerint aggravabitur eis bellum, quod non poterunt sustinere, quia crescit regia potentia omni die.

Octavo, Noverint quod regnum Angliæ est sub speciali protectione sedis apostolicæ, et quod Romana curia plus iure regna cætera diligere consuevit.

Novo, Quod eadem curia nullo modo volet permittere statum regni Angliæ vacillare, quod sibi specialibus obsequiis est devotum.

Decimo, Amarissimè plangimus hoc quod dicitur Wallenses crudeliores existerè Saracenis; quia cum Saraceni capiunt Christianos, eos servant pecunia redimendos, quos Wallenses captos dicuntur illico jugulare quasi solo sanguine delectentur; immo quod est deterius, quos promittunt reddimi, tradunt accepta pecunia jugulandos.

Undecimo, Quod cum consueverit deum et personas ecclesiasticas revereri, a devotione hominum videntur multiplicitè recessisse, qui in tempore sanctissimo in redemptionis injuriam moverunt seditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes, in quo eos nullus poterit excusare.

Duodecimo,

DUODECIMO, Petimus ut tanquam veri Christiani ad cordeant penitentes, quia ceptam discordiam non possent continuare etiam si jurassent.

TERTIODECIMO, Petimus ut nobis significant quibus modis velint et valeant turbationem pacis regiae, laesionem reipublicae, te mala alia emendare.

QUARTODECIMO, Ut significant nobis qualiter valeat ipsa concordia stabiliri, frustra enim pax firmari videbitur quae tam assidue violatur.

QUINTODECIMO, Ut si dicant leges suas vel foedera ex pacto inito non servari, nobis significant quae sunt illa.

SEXTODECIMO, Noverint quod etiam posito quod eis derogatum fuisset, quod nescimus, nullo modo licebit eis quasi essent iudices in causa sua taliter maiestatem regiam impugnare.

SEPTIODECIMO, Quod nisi modo pax fiat proceditur contra eos forsitan ex decreto militiae, sacerdoti, et populi convocati.

REVERENDISSIMO patri in Christo domino J. de gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo totius Angliae primati, suis humilis et devotus filius Leolinus princeps Walliae, dominus Snaudon, salutem et filialem dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, subiectione et honore, sanctae paternitati vestrae pro labore vobis quasi intolerabile quem assumpsistis ad praesens pro dilectione quam erga nos et nostram nationem geritis, omni qua possumus devotione regravantes vobis largimur; et eo amplius quod contra domini regis voluntatem venistis prout nobis intimastis. Ceterum quod nos rogastis

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rogassit ut ad pacem domini regis veniat, scire debet vestra sanctitas quod ad hoc prompti sumus, dummodo idem dominus rex pacem debitam et veram nobis et nostris velit observare. Ad hoc licet gauderemus de mora vestra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis est, quam optamus per vestram industriam magis quam alicujus alterius roborari. Et speramus nec per Dei gratiam erit opportunum propter nostram pertinaciam aliquid scribere domino Papæ. Nec vestras paternas preces ac graves labores spernemus, sed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu ut tenemur. Nec erit opus quod dominus rex aggravet contra nos manum, cum prompti sumus sibi obediens juribus nostris et legibus nobis ut præmittatur reservatis.

Et licet regnum Angliæ sit Curia Romanae specialiter subiectum et dilectum, tamen cum dominus Papa, necnon et Curia Romana audiverint quanta nobis per Anglicos mala sunt illata, videlicet quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis servata nec pacta; deinde devastaciones, combustiones, et ecclesiasticarum personarum interfectiones, sacerdotum videlicet et inclutorum, et aliarum religiosarum personarum passim mulierum et infantium suggestum ubera et in utero portantium, combustiones etiam hospitalium et aliarum demorum religiosarum, homicidiorum in cimiteriis, ecclesiis, et super altaria, et aliorum sacrilegiorum et flagitiorum auditu etiam horribilium, auditu Paganorum seu exprobratis in aliis rotulis conscripta vobis transmittimus inspicienda.

Speramus imprimis, quod vestra pia et sancta paternitas clementer nobis compatietur, nec non et curia super dicta, nec per nos regnum Angliæ vacillabit, dum, ut promissum est, pax debita nobis fiat et fervetur. Qui vero sanguinis effusione delectantur manifestum est factis. Nam Angliæ hactenus nulli sexui vel ætati seu languori pepercerunt, nulla ecclesiæ vel loco sacro detulerunt, qualia vel consimilia

Wallenses non facerunt. Super eo autem quod unus re-  
demptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occisorem  
manu tenemus, sed in sylvis uti latro vagatur. De eo vero  
quod inceperunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud  
ignoravimus usque post factum, et tamen ipsi asserunt quod  
nisi eo tempore hoc fecissent mortes et captiones eis immine-  
bant, nec audebunt in domibus residere, nec nisi armati  
incedere, et sic præ timori tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis  
verò quæ fecimus contra dominum, ut veri christiani per  
Dei gratiam poenitebimus, nec erit ex parte nostra quod  
bellum continuetur, dum sumus indemnes ut debemus. Ne  
tamen exhaeredemur et passim occidemur, oportet nos de-  
fendere ut valeamus. Cum verò injuria et damna hinc inde  
considerentur et ponderentur parati sumus emendare pro  
vitiis quæ ex parte nostra sunt commissa, dum de prædictis  
injuriis et damnis nobis factis et aliis emenda nobis fiat. Et  
ad pacem firmandam et stabilendam similiter sumus prompti  
debitis modis.

QUANDO tamen regales chartæ et pacta inita nobis non  
servantur, sicut nec hucusque sunt observata, non potest pax  
stabiliri, nec quando novæ exactiones et inauditæ contra nos  
et nostros omni die adveniunt. Vobis autem transmittimus  
in rotulis damna nobis illata et foedera non servata secundum  
formam pacis prius factam. Quod verò guerravimus quasi  
necessitas nos cogebat; nam nos et omnes Wallenses eramus  
adeo oppressi et suppeditati et spoliati et in servitutem redacti  
per regales Justicianos et Ballivos contra formam pacis et  
omnem justiciam amplius quam si Saraceni essemus vel Judæi,  
sicut credimus et sæpe denunciavimus domino regi, nec  
aliquam emendam habere potuimus. Sed semper mittebantur  
judiciarii et ballivi ferociores et crudeliores, et quando illi  
erant saturati per suas injustas exactiones, alii de novo mit-  
tebantur et populum excoriandum in tantum quod populus  
mallebat mori quam vivere. Nec oportet militiam ampli-  
orem convocare, vel contra nos moveri sacerdotium dum  
nobis

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nobis fiat pax et servetur modis debitis ut superius est expressum. Nec debitis sancte pater omnibus verbis credere nostrorum adversariorum; sicut enim nos factis oppresserunt et opprimunt, ita et vobis diffamant, nobis imponentes quæ volunt.

IPSI enim vobis sunt præsentēs et nos absentes, ipsi opprimentes et nos oppressi. Et idē propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis, sed facta potius examinei. Valeat sanctitas vestre ad regimen ecclesiæ per tempora longa.

PRIMUS Articulus est talis, cum in forma pacis sic continetur ut sequitur. Si vero idem Leolinus jus vindicaverit in aliquibus terris quas alii præter dictum dominum regem occupaverint extra quatuor cantredos prædictos, plenariam sibi justitiam exhibebit præfatus dominus rex secundum leges et consuetudines partium illarum in quibus terræ illæ consistunt: qui articulus non fuit observatus super terris Alostley et inter Dyvy et ductus fluviorum, pro eo quod cum dominus Leolinus dictas terras vindicasset coram domino rege apud Ruthlan, et rex sibi concessisset causam examinari secundum leges et consuetudines Walliæ ac advocati pretium fuissent introducti coram rege ut judicarent de dictis terris secundum leges Wallicanas; parte rea comparente et respondente adeo quod eo die deberet finaliter terminari et præfixione domini regis qui apud Gloverniam existens diem prædictum partibus assignavit, licet sæpius in diversis locis coram justiciariis fuisset dicta causa examinata, et terræ ipsæ essent in pura Wallia. Nec unquam judicata fuit super eis nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; nec dominus rex posset vel deberet prorogare nisi secundum leges Walliæ: diem tamen ipsum motu proprio prorogavit et contra leges antedictas, et ad ultimo fuit vocatus ad loca varia ad quæ non debuit evocari, nec justitiam obtinere potuit, nisi secundum leges Angliæ contra illud quod in dicto articulo continetur. Et idem factum fuit coram justiciariis apud Montgomery,

cum

cum partes essent in iudicio constitutæ et firmatæ, et dies datus ad sententiam audiendam, diem prorogaverunt leges memoratas. Denum apud Londinum post multos labores et expensas varias rex ipse iustitiam sibi denegavit, nisi vellet secundum leges Angliæ subire iudicium in causa memorata.

SECUNDUS articulus non servatus est talis. Et omnes transgressiones injuriæ et excelsus hinc inde factæ pœnitus remittuntur usque in diem hodiernum. Iste articulus non fuit observatus quia dominus Regnialdus de Grey statim cum fuit factus iusticiarius, movet varias quæstiones et innumerabiles contra homines de Tegengl, et nos super transgressis quæ factæ fuerunt in tempore domini Henrici regis, et dicti domini Leolini dum dominum in partibus illis obtinebat unde dicti homines multum timentes non audebant in domibus suis permanere.

TERTIUS articulus, Ubi dictus Rys Vachan filius Nef filii Maelgon cum terra quam nunc tenet et cum post pacem initam fuit spoliatus de terra de Geneverglyn, quam tunc tenebat cum hominibus et Averis eorundem.

QUARTUS articulus, Item concedit dominus rex quod omnes terras tenentes in quatuor Cantredis, et in aliis terris quas dominus rex retinet in manu sua, teneant eas adeo libere et plenarie sicut ante guerram tenere consueverint, et eisdem libertatibus et consuetudinibus gaudeant quibus prius gaudere solebant, et cum contra istum articulum dictus Regnialdus consuetudines varias de novo introduxit, et hoc contra pacis formam supradictam.

ITEM quintus articulus, Controversiæ et contentiones moræ vel movendæ inter principem et quoscunque terminantur et decidentur secundum leges Marchiæ de his quæ emergunt in Marchia, et secundum leges Walliæ de rebus contentiosis quæ in Wallia orientur. Contra istum articulum

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venit



venit dominus rex mittendo justiciarios usque ad Montgomery, qui ibidem judicare præsumperunt homines dicti Leolini, vindictum ponendo super illos contra leges Walliæ, cum hoc vel aliud simile nunquam factum fuisset ibidem temporibus retroactis, quosdam incarcerando, alios in exilium mittendo, cum ipse idem princeps paratus esset de eisdem hominibus suis exhibere justitiæ complementum omnibus quærelantibus de eisdem.

Item sextus articulus. Item cum sit contentum in dicta pacis forma, quod Griffinus Vachan homagium faceret domino regi, de terra, de Yâl, et principi de terra de Edeynahu justiciarii domini introduxerunt, in totam terram prædictam de Edeynahu cujus cognitio causæ ad principem pertinebat simpliciter, et non ad alios justiciarios; et tamquam pro bono pacis princeps hoc tolerabat cum ipse princeps paratus esset edictum dominæ super hoc justitiæ exhibere.

SEPTIMUS articulus, ubi dicitur et licet idem princeps nostræ ut dictum est supposuerit voluntati, nos tamen concedimus et volumus quod voluntas nostra . . . . . ultra dictos articulos se in aliquo non extendant. Contra istum articulum exigebatur aurum ad opus reginæ in qualibet solutione facta regi cum . . . . . Aurum nunquam fuit exactum Wallensibus, nec in tempore domini Henrici, vel alicujus alterius regis Angliæ: quod aurum exsolvit pro bono pacis, cum tamen nihil de hoc factum fuit in forma pacis vel excogitatum: et nunc insuper exigitur à principe aurum ad opus reginæ senioris matris videlicet domini Edvardi nunc regis Angliæ, pro pace facta in tempore domini Henrici nunc regis Angliæ, cum nihil de hoc tunc fuerat dictum vel quoquomodo excogitatum, videlicet duo millia Marcarum et dimidium, et nisi dictæ Marcæ solverentur, minabatur dicta regina quod bona ejusdem Leolini occuparet quæ invenire poterat in domino regis, et homines suos capere vel vendicare quosque dictam summam haberet ad plenum. Item

cum

cum invitasset dominus rex dictum principem adfectum Wigorniensem verbis blandissimis promittendo ei quod daret tunc consanguineam suam sibi in uxorem, et multis ditaret honoribus; nihilominus cum illuc venisset in die desponsationis, ante missam petiit dominus rex unam litteram consignari à principe continentem inter cetera, quod idem princeps nullum omnino honorem in terra sua teneret contra regis voluntatem, vel manu teneret ex quo possit contingere quod omnes fideles principis ab eo commoverentur. Quam quidem litteram sibi sigillatam tradidit, computans per metum qui cadere posset in constantem virum, cum tamen in forma pacis, ut præmissum est, contineatur quod nihil ab eo deberet exigi, ultra quod in dicta forma continetur.

ITEM, cum secundum eandem pacis formam consuetudines eidem principi confirmantur quibus usus fuerat ab antiquo; ac idem princeps et antecessores sui, ex consuetudine diutina et obtenta bona de naufragis in terris suis provenientia continebant recipere, et in suos usus convertere ad libitum: Justiciarius Cestrensis namque recepit super principem pro bonis quæ recepit de naufragiis ante guerram contra dictam pacis formam per quam hinc inde erant remissa, et contra consuetudines ante dictas. Dato etiam quod hoc esset foris factum namque recepit tale, videlicet quia decem libratas mellis et plures equos ac homines suos incarceravit, et hoc ex propriis bonis principis antedicti. Preterea, accipit scaphas de Banweys quæ venerant apud Liverpool cum mercantiis per mercatores, et eas numquam deliberavit donec pecuniam pro eis accepit quantum volebat.

ITEM, cum quidam homines de Geneurglyn quædam bona abstulissent ab aliis vicinis suis de Geneurglyn, dum essent in domino principis de Meryreton homines reges de Llanbadarn prædam fecerunt, et acceperunt de terra principis de Meryreton, et cum homines sui venissent illoc ad quærendum quare dictam prædam receperant, unum de eis inter-

fecerunt,

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fecerunt, et alios vulneraverunt, & quosdam incarceraverunt. Et cum in dicta pacis forma contineatur quod in marchia deberent emendari quæ in Marchia mittebantur, tamen dicti homines regis homines principis audire noluerunt alibi quam in castro de Llanbadarn, & hoc contra pacis formam antedictam, super quo hætenus nullam justitiam habere potuerunt. In istis articulis injuriatus dominus rex principi & suis, & etiam in multis aliis: et licet princeps tam per se quam per suos petivisset sapius a domino rege quod pacis formam supradictam erga se & suos faceret observari, in nullo tamen extitit observata sed omni die de novo justitiam & ballivi domini regis in partibus illis injurias injuriis, & varia gravamina cumlaverunt: propter quod mirum non debet videri alicui si princeps præfatus assensum præstitit illis qui guerrare cœperunt, cum in his fides quam in animam domini regis sibi dominus Robertus Tibetot juraverat in nullo servabatur, & maxima & principaliter cum princeps fuisset præmunitus a personis fide dignis quod princeps foret a rege capiendus in suo primo accessu apud Ruthlan, & etiam fuisset captus si rex illuc accessisset post Natale sicut proposuerat.

Nec gravamina & alia quasi innumerabilia, sancte pater, considerantes, nobis affectu paterno compaciamini, et pro salute animæ domini regis, et nostræ, et etiam multorum aliorum, ad pacem bonam utriusque populi laboribus fructuosè.

Cum dominus David primo venisset ad dominum Edwardum tunc comitem Cestræ, ac homagium sibi fecisset, idem dominus Edwardus eidem Davidi duas cantredas, videlicet de dyffryn-Clwyd et Cywonant cum omnibus suis pertinentiis dedit plenarie, et literas suas patentes super hoc fieri fecit, tandem etiam donationem eidem invocavit, postquam creatus est in regem, et etiam illum Davidem in possessionem illarum cantradarum induxit corporalem.

DEUM

DEMUM domina Gwenthian de Lacy mortua, tres villas quas in dictis cantredis tenuit quoad vitam quæ ad ipsum Davidem spectabant ratione donationis supradictæ dominus rex sibi abstulit minus iuste contra tenorem chartæ suæ.

ITEM, Cum dictus David ex donatione domini regis prædicti villas de Hope et Efton obtineret in Wallia, de quibus nulli respondere tenebatur nisi secundum leges Wallicanas; tandem iusticiarius Cestriensis fecit ipsum ad instantiam cujusdam Anglici Willh. de Vanabel nomine ad comitatum Cestriensem super dictis vilulis ad iudicium evocari. Et licet dictus dominus David petivisset multoties quod injuriose contra eundem non procederetur in dicto comitatu, pro eo quod ibidem respondere nullatenus tenebatur super villis prædictis quæ sitæ erant in Wallia, sed potius tractaretur, hoc sibi plene denegavit.

ITEM, Idem iusticiarius Cestriensis in gravamen dicti domini Davidis nemo suum de Lleweni et Sylvas suas de Hope fecit succidi tam per villanos de Ruthlan, quam per alios, cum idem iusticiarius in terris prædicti domini Davidis nullum omnino haberet jurisdictionem, et non contenti quod mererem ibidem quærerent ad ædificia exigenda tam apud Rodelanum quam alibi in patria, sed nemo destruendo mererem ibidem sectum ad vendendum in Hiberniam transferunt.

ITEM, Cum idem dominus David quosdam Fortanicos de terra domini regis qui in nemoribus latitabant cepisset, ac suspensio tradidisset, idem tamen iusticiarius ipsum Davidem penes regem accusabat, ac si ipse dictos malefactores dederet, et manuteneret, quod verisimile non erat cum ipse David dictos latrones suspendi faceret et occidi.

ITEM, Cum esset cautum in forma pacis quod Wallenses deberent in causis suis tractari secundum leges Wallicanas, istud



istud tamen circa dictum Davidem et suos homines in nulla exitit observatum.

DE præmissis vero gravaminibus et aliis petit idem David aliquam emendationem vel secundum leges Walliæ, vel consuetudines, vel etiam ex gratia speciali; et hoc etiam petit a domino rege, quorum neutrum potuit aliquatenus obtinere: et cum hoc præmunitus fuit a quibusdam a curia domini regis, quod in primo regressu domini Reginaldi de Gray de curia idem David esset capiendus ut filii sui. capiendi pro ob sedibus esset, insuper spoliandus castro suo de Hope, et etiam sylva sua ibidem succidenda. Ideo cum idem David multum laborasset pro domino rege prædicto in diversis gueris tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et exposuisset se et suos variis periculis et injuriis, ac amississet nobiles de suis et fortiores, ac multos nimis, nihilominus de dictis gravaminibus et aliis nullam omnino justitiam, emendationem, seu gratiam potuit obtinere. Propter quæ gravamina et pericula, timens mortem propriam aut filiorum suorum, vel incarcerationem perpetuam vel saltem diutinam, quasi coactus et invitatus incepit prout potuit se et suos defendere.

*Hæc est forma quam dominus rex Angliæ promisit hominibus de Ros, antequam ipsi fecerunt sibi homagium, & illam formam eis promisit inviolabiliter observare, videlicet.*

Quod ipse dominus rex concederet unicuique eorum jus suum, et jurisdictionem suam, et etiam dominium, bonæ memoriæ domini Henrici quondam regis Angliæ, secundum quod prædicti homines de Ros referent ipsos haberent temporibus prædicti Henrici.

ITEM, Promisit prædictus dominus rex supradictis hominibus quod non darentur nec ad firmam ponerentur; quibus articulis concessis præfatis hominibus homagium fecerunt dominus

domino regi, et ipse eis promisit ore proprio dictos articulos observare. Hoc non obstante quidam cementarii redeuntes ad villam de Ruthlan, de loco ubi ipsi operabantur, obviaverunt cuidam nobili transeunti cum uxore sua per viam regiam super pace domini regis, qui cementarii per vim proposuerunt auferre a prædicto nobili suam uxorem, et quia ipse nobilis defendit suam uxorem ne ab ipso auferetur, prædicti cementarii prædictum nobilem interfecerunt. Ille autem qui plus opponebatur dictum homicidium perpetrasse, cum quibusdam sociis suis capti fuerunt: et cum parentela prædicti interfecti petierit iustitiam a domino iusticiario Cestriensi de morte consanguinii eorum, illi de parentela ipsius interfecti fuerunt incarcerati, et interfectores fuerunt a carcere liberati.

ITEM, Quidam homo interfecit quendam nobilem qui videlicet filium Goropu de Heylyn nutriterat, et interfector captus fuit: et cum quidam de parentela prædicti interfecti peterent iustitiam de eorum consanguineo a domino iusticiario Cestriensi, quidam eorum capti fuerunt, et interfector fuit in castello domini regis liberatus, et adhuc est ibi, denegata iustitia prædictæ parentelæ.

ITEM, Quidam nobiles vindicaverunt jus in quibusdam terris, et de mobilibus suis obtulerunt domino regi magnam summam pecuniæ pro iustitia habenda per rationem et veredictum proborum et legalium hominum de patria; quæ quidem terræ adjudicatæ fuerunt, prædictis vendicantibus totam terram prædictam cum omnibus ædificiis biadis, et aliis bonis in ipsis contentis. Dominus Reginaldus de Grey; et sic amiserunt primo pecuniam quam pro terra pacaverunt, et postea terram.

ITEM, Jurisdictionis nostræ est quod nullus extraneus extirparet sylvas nostras, nisi prius habita licentia nostra; hoc non obstante, proclamatum fuit apud Rodolanum quod liceret unicuique Anglicano extirpare sylvas nostras sine nostra licentia

licentia ad libitum eorum voluntatis, et quod nobis fuit prohibitum dictas sylvas nostras extirpare.

ITEM, Terras quas probi homines a domino Davide filio Leolini bonæ memoriæ habuerunt per donationem prædicti Davidis abstulit prædictus iusticiarius a prædictis probis hominibus.

ITEM, Quando aliquis ad villam de Ruthlan veniret cum mercandiis suis, si refutarèt illud quod Anglicus eidem, offerret pro suis mercandiis, statim duceretur ille Wallensis ad castrum, et emptor ibidem haberet rem quam larginaverat, et dominus rex haberet pretium dictæ rei, tunc castellam dictum Wallensem spoliatum et atrociter verberatum deliberabant, pacatis prius portario castri quatuor denariis. Si vero aliquis Wallensis emeret aliquam rem in villa de Ruthlan, Anglicus qualiscunque superveniret, et rem venditam dicto Wallensi auferet ab ipso pro minori pretio quam dictus Wallensis solverat pro eadem.

ITEM, Contra promissionem domini regis prædictis hominibus de Ros, ipse dedit territoriam villæ de Maenam in Penmayn et Lhysfaen.

ITEM, Taurus cujusdam probi hominis deprehensus fuit in patris domini regis apud Ros, et captus, et dominus ejus vocatus fuit ad placitum usque Rodolanum, et fuit condemnatus in quinque libris occasione dicti tauri; bis adivit Lodinum pro justitia petenda, et nullam fuit, affectus, et in illis duabus vicibus expendidit prædictus homo tres libras.

ITEM, Quidam nobiles de cantreda de Ros emerunt officia pro certa summa pecuniæ; pacata pecunia, meritis suis non exigentibus, dominus iusticiarius Cestrensis abstulit ab eis eorum officia.

ITEM,

ITEM, Quidam rusticus Goronow ab Heylyn condemnatus fuit in 17 l. bonæ et legalis monetæ juris, ordine non servato.

ITEM, Goronow filius Heylyn accipit ad firmam territorium de Penmaen et Lhysfaen a magistro Godfrido. M. pro certa pecuniæ summa, usque ad finem quatuor annorum, quo factio dominus Robertus de C. cum equis et armis, et cum viginti quatuor equitibus venit ad inequitandum prædictum Goronow, occasione dictæ terræ, ita quod sic non fuit securus transitus nec usque Rodolanum, nec usque ad iusticiarios nisi cum forti Warnistura de sua parentela et etiam de suis amicis.

ITEM, In reformationem pacis ultro factæ et firmatæ inter dominum regem, et suos ex una parte, et dominum principem et suos ex altera expresse continebatur; quod omnes injuriæ et transgressiones factæ ex utraque parte penitus remitterentur; hoc non obstante oppositum fuit contra quoddam nobiles quoddam fore factum tempore guerræ, et statim capti fuerunt, nec potuerunt a carcere liberari antequam ipsi pacarent sedecem marcas.

ITEM, Cum causæ debent tractari et terminari secundum legem et consuetudinem terræ nostræ compelluntur homines cantredæ nostræ ad jurandum in causis prædictis contra suam conscientiam, nec aliter jurare patiuntur.

P.R. nos constavimus trecentas marcas eundo ad dominum regem pro justitia petenda in prædictis articulis, ibidem morando, et ad propria redeundo; et cum nos credebamus habere plenam justitiam de singulis articulis prædictis, dominus rex transmissit ad partes nostras dominum Reginaldum de Grey, cui dictus dominus rex totam terram ad firmam concessit, ad tractandos homines prædictæ cantredæ prout suæ placeret voluntati; qui compulsi nos jurare per manum suam cum deberemus jurare per manum domini regis, et ubi crux domini regis levare deberet, quod crux prædicti Reginaldi



naldi levaretur, in signum quod ipse erat verus dominus. Dicitur vero Reginaldus in suo adventu ad partes Wallie vendidit quibusdam servientibus domini regis officia sua, quæ prædicti servientes prius emerant a dom. rege pro 3; Marcis, et illa officia non deberent vendi nisi cum dominum dominorum mutaretur.

ITEM, Dominus rex dedit Maredudo filio Madoc magistrum satellitum pro suo servitio, dominus Reginaldus de Grey abstulit ab eo suum officium, nec a domino rege assequi potuit aliquam justitiam.

ITEM, Unus de consilio prædicti Reginaldi nobis dixit ore tenus, scilicet Cynwricus Fichan, quod in adventu prædicti Reginald ad partes Wallie, viginti quatuor homines de prioribus hominibus cujuslibet cantredæ caperet ad incarcerandos ipsos perpetuo vel decapitandos : propter ista gravamina, et alia quæ dictus Reginaldus nobis fecit, et etiam propter minas quas ipse nobis intulit, videlicet quod si miserem aliquos nuncios ad curiam domini regis pro justitiâ petenda decapitarentur. Multa alia damna nobis allata, et injuriæ factæ; et quando mittebamus ad curiam domini regis, nuntii non permittebantur nec ausi fuerunt intrare, sed ex-pendebant multa inutiliter; ob ista gravamina æstimabamus nos esse liberos a juramento facto domino regis coram deo.

ITEM, Bledyn Seis et Anjanus filius Genaf de Ros quoddam malefactum fecerunt temporibus David filii Lewelini, & Henrici regis, de homicidiis factis tunc satisfactionem et emendam satisfacere monstraverunt; et modo de novo Reginaldus de Grey vellet et cogetet illam emendam renovare, donec oportuit ipsos terram proprias relinquere.

ITEM, Census et obventiones quos solvimus de veteri moneta per medietatem unius anni ante adventum novæ monete, cogerunt nos reddere eis novas monetas pro veteri et hoc sub eodem numero.

Ipsa

*Ista sunt gravamina per dominum regem & suos justiciarios  
illata Rhefo parvo de Ystrad Tywy.*

PRIMUM EST; Postquam dictus Rhys dedit et concessit domino regi castrum suum apud Dynefowr post ultimam pacis formam: qui dictus Rhefus tunc temporis erat in tentilio domini Payn de Gadsry, eodem tempore interfecit fuerunt sex nobiles viri domini Rhys, de quibus satisfactionem nec iustitiam unquam habuit quod fuit eis damnum et gravamen.

ITEM, Johannes Giffard calumniavit cum Rhefum super hereditatem propriam apud Hirwryn, quicquid Rhefus inquisivit a domino rege legem patriæ suæ, aut legem comitatus Caermarden, in quo comitatu antecessores dicti Rhys solebant habere leges, quando fierent in unitatem Anglicorum, et sub eorum dominis; quod idem Rhys nullas leges habuit, et suam terram prædictam totaliter amisit; vellent ipsum infringere in comitatu Herefordiensi, ubi numquam antecessores ejus responderunt.

PRÆTEREA in terris præfati Rhefi talia gravamina fuerunt, per Anglicos facta, maxime pertinent ad ecclesiasticos, videlicet in ecclesia Sancti Davidis quæ vocatur Llangadawc fecerunt stabula, et meretrices collocaverunt, et omnia bona quæ in ea continebantur omnino asportaverunt atque totos domos combusserunt; et in eadem ecclesia juxta aram percusserunt capellanum cum gladio ad caput ejus et eum reliquerunt semivivum.

ITEM, In eadem patria ecclesiam Dyngad et ecclesiam Llantredaf spoliaverunt et combusserunt; cæterasque ecclesias ex partibus illis omnino spoliaverunt calcibus, et libris, ac omnibus aliis ornamentis et rebus.

*Grava-*

*Gravamina Lewelini filii Rhys, & Howeli fratris ejus per  
dominum regem illata sunt hæc.*

POSTQUAM in formam pacis inter dominum Henricum  
tunc temporis regem Angliæ et dominum principem apud  
Rhydwynna, tunc præfatus rex concessit, et per cartas suas  
confirmavit præfato principi homagium prædictorum nobilium  
*exor.* Prædicti nobiles fuerunt fideles et constantes cum præ-  
fato principe, juxta eorum donationem et cartarum suarum  
confirmationem: Edwardus nunc rex Angliæ prædictos no-  
biles dehæreditavit, denegando eisdem omnes leges et con-  
suetudines Walliæ; ita quod non habuerunt terras suas nec  
per legem, nec per gratiam.

*Ista sunt gravamina, damna, seu molestia per Anglicos illata  
filiis Maredudi, filii Oweni.*

PRIMUM est quamquam dominus rex concessit prædictis  
nobilibus suas proprias hæreditates post pacis formam, vi-  
delicet Geneur'glyn et Creudhyn; præfatus vero rex, contra  
suam donationem et pacis formam, terris supradictis ante-  
dictos nobilis dehæreditavit, denegando eidem omnes leges  
et consuetudines Walliæ, et Angliæ, atque comitatus Cær-  
mardhyn.

SECUNDUM est, Quod præfatus rex in suo comitatu de  
Cardigan, per suos justiciarios antedictos nobiles compelli,  
ut ipsi traderent judicium super ignobiles ac subditos paria,  
et quod tales homines e commissio judicium super ipsos oppo-  
nerent, ubi nunquam antecessores eorum ab Anglicis talis  
fussinerunt.

TERTIUM est, Quod justiciarii domini regis curiam eorum  
nobilium abstulerunt, compellendo homines suos propria  
coram  
Vot.

coram eis satisfacere quia de jure coram prædictis nobilibus deberent satisfacere.

QUARTUM est, Quod quoddam naufragium in terris antedictorum nobilium fuit, qui quidem nobiles bona naufragii receperunt, sicut antecessores eorum fecerunt, et hoc non fuit eis prohibitum per aliquos ex parte régis: antedictus vero rex contra eorum consuetudinem et legem, occasione illius Naufragii eisdem damnavit in octoginta Marcis sterlingorum; atque bona quæ in Naufragio continebantur omnino asportaverunt.

QUINTUM est, Quod nullus nostrum in comitatu Uffegde de Cardigan ausus esset venire inter Anglicos propter timorem carceris et nisi fuisset propter periculum Nobilibus Meutop. nihil contra honorem domini regis moverent.

SIGNIFICANT vero quod omnes Christiani habent leges et consuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judæi vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipsi vero in terris suis, et eorum antecessores habuerunt leges immutabiles et consuetudines, donec Anglia post ultimam guerram ab eis leges suas abstulerunt.

*Memorandum de querellis omnium nobilium virorum de Ystradatuy eisdem latis ac factis per Rogerum de Clyfford, & Rogerum Croscil vicem domini Rogeri de Clyfford gerentem contra privilegium, justitiam, et consuetudinem prædictorum virorum de Ystratuy, ut dicunt et probant.*

PRIMUS articulus est quod cum dicti Rogeri cogerunt dictos homines de Ystradatuy reddere sibi pro consuetudinibus suis viginti Marcas sterlingorum, et post solutionem dictæ ecuniae cito frugerunt in hunc modum, quod posuerunt super 17 viros judicantes secundum jus Angliæ; quod nunquam fuit consuetudo nec privilegium dictæ patriæ.

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I i

ITEM.



ITEM. Madecus filius Bledyn condemnatus fuit in quatuor Marcio iniuste.

ITEM. Lewelinus Rufus condemnatus fuit in quinque Marcis et 17 averiis contra privilegium et consuetudinem patriæ.

ITEM. Quod ipsi Rogeri fecerunt forestam super terram propriam virorum patriæ : et propter pedem unius cervi inventum id ore canis alicujus, tres homines fuerunt spoliati omnino.

ITEM. Michael ab Ygustyl condemnatus fuit in decem solidis pro facto patris sui, quadraginta annis elapsis.

ITEM. Cogerunt parentes Ennii à Strabonis ad reddendum suum relevagum in vita sua.

ITEM. Quod ipsi posuerunt super nos omnes satellitos de Anglicis, quod nunquam fuit nostra dimidietas.

ITEM. Dati fuimus domino Mauritio de Crumy, et viditi fuimus domino Rogero de Clyfford, quod nunquam fuit super parentes nostros.

ITEM. Roberti de Monte alto petiit, à domino rege tertiam partem terræ de Monte alto in Ward, et dijudicatum fuit coram domino rege quod nunquam dicta terra fuit in Ward data.

*Hi sunt articuli quæstionum illati ab hominibus de Penllyn, iniuste per constabularium Albi Monasterii & suos civi.*

PRIMO. Cynwric filius Madoci fuit spoliatus ab eis tempore pacis octo libris, et quatuor bobus, et blado laboris unius aratri, per duos annos et valore trium librarum à tribus hominibus ejusdem ; affirmat etiam quod solvet 16 libras per octo in valore, et majorem habuit injuriam imponente manus in ipsum quam totum quod amisit, quia tunc ad-

consularius domini principis apud Penllyn : non fuit alia causa dictæ spoliationis nisi quia dicebatur invenire 24 garbas de decimis in domo cuiusdam hominis dicti Cynwrici.

ITEM. Adam Preco condemnatus fuit in septem solidis & octo denariis, et equa valoris unius libræ, imponendo manus in ipsum et liberando latronem dictæ equæ, quia ipse venerat ibidem cum dicto latrone capto.

ITEM. Endevot ab Gruffydh condemnatus fuit in 27 s. nec fuit causa nisi quia vendidit equam unam ad unum miliare citra villam, sicut solebant à tempore quo non extat memoria, quando veniebant ad nundinas.

ITEM. Adaf Ddu condemnatus fuit in 30 s. eo quod duo boves quos proposuerat vendere in foro Albi Monasterii exhibant villam ipso conveniente, et captus fuit et detentus usque ad solutionem 30 s. nec ipsi boves exierant nisi da Plateo quæ stabant usque ad aliam Plateam.

ITEM. Biryf filius Gwyn, condemnatus fuit in quinque solidis, et in carcerem ductus; eo quod percussit unum bovem indomitum ipsum calcantem in foro.

ITEM. Vorwerch ab Gorgonon condemnatus fuit 7 s. eo quod evaserat quondam de carcere eorum tempore guerræ, et in tempore pacis inventus fuit in dicta villa, et hoc contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum regem, et dominum principem.

ITEM. Duo famuli Kenwric ap Gruffydh condemnati fuerunt in duabus Marcis, eo quod dicebant ipsos non solvisse toletum postquam solverant.

ITEM. Caducanus Niger famulus consularii de Penlyhyn captus fuit et condemnatus in 6 s. et 4 d. eo quod nolebat recipere veterem monetam pro nova.

I i 2

ITEM.

A servant.

ITEM. Gruffydh ap Gronow *tercinarius* domini Principis spoliatus fuit uno bove valoris 11 s. et 8 d. et postquam araveret constabularius cum dicto bove per septem menses, solvit dictus Gruffydh pro dicto bove, 40 d.

ITEM. Howel ap David spoliatus fuit per satellites albi Monasterii duobus solidis extra villam, eo quod denegaverat prius munera ut solent satellites petere.

ITEM. David ap Gronow ab Eynion spoliatus fuit 30 s. eo quod quidam cives albi monasterii dixit, quod quidam de Penlhyn, qui mortuus fuerat, denegabatur ei in quibusdam rebus.

ITEM. Duo famuli Y bongam capti fuerunt et condemnati in duabus libris, eo quod posuerunt manum in quendam latronem qui spoliabat eos in villa per noctem, et liberaverunt latronem.

ITEM. Eyneon filius Ichael captus et verberatus fuit, et spoliatus duobus bobus valoris, 24 s. et 6 d. nulla alia de causa, nisi quod boves ipso connivente moverunt se de platea ad iliam plateam.

ITEM. Adaf ap Ychael condemnatus fuit in duabus libris pro una libra, et ipse posuerat in juramento cujusdam civis de albo monasterio quod non tenebatur nisi in una libra pro principe, nec voluit jurare, et ideo spoliatus fuit una libra.

ITEM. Guyan Macstran spoliatus fuit 5 s. eo quod dicebat quod quidam Mercator de Ardydwy tenebatur eis in quibusdam rebus, cum ipse nec erat de dicta Balliva : item condemnatus fuit in 8 d. quia dicebant ipsum vendere quosdam oves extra villam cum ipse non vendiderat.

ITEM. Famulus Lewelini ab Gwyn spoliatus fuit septem ovibus, et 5 s. et suo pallio, eo quod dicebant ipsum esse de domino Gruffydh ab Gwyn cum ipse non erat.

ITEM.

ITEM. Iorwerch ab Meylir captus fuit et condemnatus in 15 s. cum pallio, eo quod denegavit dare munus satellitibus quod petebant, ipsi sinxerunt eum in villa pernoctare.

ITEM. Cives albi monasterii rapuerunt à Madoco Rufo filio Ychael unum bovem valoris, 11 s. et 6 d.

ISTA omnia facta fuerunt per Henricum Gamber dicti loci constabularium, cum aliis innumerabilibus articulis.

ITEM. Ybice captus fuit in negotio domini principis, et condemnatus in 5 s. absque aliqua causa.

*Hæc sunt gravamina Goronow filii Heylyn, viz.*

Quod quidem Villanus dictus Coronon vocatus fuit ad curiam domini regis occasione indebitæ causæ. Tunc dictus Goronow venit ad suum villanum defendendum, et petiit pro ipso veritatem à domino iusticiario, aut legem qua utuntur homines suæ patriæ; omnibus autem his eidem denegatis, dictus villanus condemnatus fuit in 27 libris, et tribus obolis; tunc dictus Goronow adivit Londonium pro iustitia habenda, et expendit quinque Marcas et quatuor Solidos, et promissa fuit sibi iustitia, et nullam fuit assecutus.

ITEM. Quidam nobilis fuit interfectus, videlicet, qui nuperat filium dicti Goronow, et ille interfector captus fuit et deportatus fuit apud castrum de Ruthlan: tunc dictus Goronow et quidem de parentela interfecti petierunt iustitiam de interfectore: tunc denegata eis iustitia, quidam fuerunt incarcerati, et ille interfector fuit in Castello liberatus. Tunc dictus Goronow iterum adivit Londonium propter supradicta gravamina ad iustitiam petendam, et expendit, 20 Marcas, 3 s. 4 d. Et dominus rex promisit eidem plenariam iustitiam, et nullam fuit adeptus cum pervenit ad patriam suam.

I i 3

ITEM.



ITEM. Tercio ex defectu iustitiæ oportuit dictum Goronow adire Londonium occasione supradictis pro iustitia petenda, ex expedit illa vice 18 Marcas, 6 s. 8 d. bonæ et legalis Monetæ; et tunc simpliciter promisit dominus rex eidem iustitiam perhibere; et quando credebatur habere iustitiam, tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, et dixit aperte quod ipse deberit tractare totam patriam per chartas domini regis, et abstulit totam Ballivam à dicto Goronow; quam sibi dominus rex concessit, et vendidit illam Ballivam ad voluntatem suam, et tunc petiit dictus Goronow iustitiam à domino Reginaldo de gravaminibus supradictis, et nullam fuit adeptus.

ITEM. Dictus Goronow recepit terram, videlicet, Penmaen et Lysfaen adfirmam de Godfrido Merlyn, usque ad finem quatuor annorum pro certa pecuniæ summa. Tunc Robertus de Cruquer venit cum equis suis et armis ad querendum dictam terram per vim, et quia dictus Goronow non permetteret auferre dictam terram ab eodem usque terminum præsignatum, tunc vocatus fuit ad curiam dictus Goronow illa occasione; tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, cum viginti quatuor equitibus armatis ad proponendum capere dictum Goronow, vel ad eundem decapitandum; et quia viderunt quod non possent implere suum propositum illo die, vocaverunt dictum Goronow crastino die apud Ruthlan, et tunc dictus Goronow habuit consilium ita quod non deberent adire dictam curiam: iterum dictus Goronow vocatus fuit ad placitum apud Caerwys, et non ausus fuit adire dictum placitum nisi per conductum domini episcopi Asaphensis, quia dictus Reginaldus et sui complures ibidem erant armati.

ITEM. Propter ista gravamina de quibus nullam habuit iustitiam nisi laborare et expendere duas libr. quatuor Marcas, et 9 d; et quia non ausus fuit in propria persona adire curiam, misit quandam nunciam deportantem duas literas, unam ad dominum regem, et aliam ad fratrem Lewelinum, ad signandum domino regi quod amitteret totam patriam, et dictam

dictum Goronow quia non observavit illud quod eisdem promisit; et quia nullam possent homines de Ros et Arglisfeld assequi justitiam, et quia noluit corrigere sive emendare ista gravamina propter hoc amisit totam patriam.

SUPPLICANT sanctitati vestræ, domine archiepiscopo Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, nobiles viri de Tegengyl, et vobis demonstrant quod cum prædicti nobiles fecerunt homagium domino Edwardo regi Angliæ, ipse rex eisdem promisit quod eosdem immunes observaret et indemnes, tam in bonis, libertatibus, juribus, jurisdictionibus, privilegiis quibus usi fuerunt tempore Henrici regis per suum obtentum privilegium; ex quibus privilegiis fuerunt postmodo spoliati.

IMPRIMIS. Juribus et consuetudinibus partiæ fuerunt spoliati, viz. prædictus Edwardus compellendo quod ipsi procederent in causis secundum legem Anglicanam, cum secundum tenorem privilegii sui secundum legem Wallicanam procedere debuissent, viz. apud Tref Edwyn, et apud Ruthlan, et apud Caerwys; et optimati de patria fuerunt manuciati quia ipsi provocabant quod ipsi procederent in causa apud Tref Edwyn secundum legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam secundum tenorem privilegii.

SECUNDO. Quia unus justiciarius duceret in causis peragendis, alius suos prædecessor in irritum revocaret, viz. in causa Davidis Reginaldus de Grey recitavit, processum quem suos antecessor ratum habuit, et etiam approbavit.

TERTIO. Quod si unus nobilis de patria fuisset propter calumniam sibi impositam captus, quod non remitterent eundem pro *cautione fideiussoria* evadere, quod facere debuissent.

QUARTO. Quod tres unus nobilis deducti ad castrum fuerunt de Flynt, propter parvam accusationem, una cum  
I i 4  
averiis

averiis suis, nec potuerunt de castro devenire, nec dilationem obtinere donec unusquisque dedit unum bovem constabulario de Flynt, et donec solverunt tres libras Kynwrico Seis pro dilatione habenda.

QUINTO. Reginaldus de Grey terras virorum de Merton dedit et concessit abbati de Basingwerk ordinis Cisterciend. contra legem Wallicanam, et patre consuetudim; et contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum Lewelinum principem et dominum regem, viz. 16 cantatas terræ.

SEXTO. Mirantur nobiles et optimati patriæ pro eo quod dominus rex fecit ædificare castrum super terram et possessionem magnatum, et mandavit dominus rex iusticiario suo quod ipse solveret eque bonam terram illis spoliatis et adhuc aliquam terram, nec suæ terræ æstimationem sunt consecui in Flynt.

SEPTIMO. Reginaldus de Grey non permitteret possessores sylvarum uti sylvis suis, donec ab eisdem pretium et primum fuisset consecutus, et aliis rusticis gratis permitteret sylvam prædictorum abscondere, cum non debuissent secundum patriæ consuetudinem et legem Wallicanam,

OCTAVO. Cum homines de Cyrchynan fecerunt pactum cum domino rege, quod cum ipsi concederent dimidietatem cujusdam prati, ad hoc quod dominus rex non permitteret sylvam prædictorum abscondere Howelo filio Gruffydd præfente, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictum pratum infirmavit, viz. concedendo aliis quod absconderent sylvam prædictorum, et eosdem dimidietate prati sui spoliando.

NONO. Filius Kynwrici ab Goronow fuit captus apud Reddeem the Ruthlan culpa sua minime præcedente, nisi vellet pignus suum *acquiescere* a quoddam muliere, et constabularius de Ruthlan fecit eundem detradi in carcerem injuriolæ, nec  
 2  
 potuit

potuit exinde deliberari donec prædictus fuit condemnatus Velus.  
ultra suorum bonorum *hypotheca*.

DECIMO. Cum ballivus de Ruthlan erat in convivio apud villam Four Hutmus de Limayl quandam virum nobilem crudeliter vulneravit in præsentia ballivi supradicti; cujus vulneris occasione prædictus Hutmus fuit in octo libris condemnatus: et quum ille cui injuria fuisset facta petere voluisset prædictas libras, eundem fecit detrudi in carcerem una.

UNDECIMO. Nuntii Reginaldi de Grey proposuerunt facere illud quod erat absurdum et dissonum juris secundum canonicas sanctiones; videlicet petere ab eisdem quod ipsi ararent Reginaldo de Grey, et quod ipsi feminarent illam araturam; et illi fuerunt nuntii, viz. Kynwricus Seis et Hutmus de Limayl, quod prædictus vero Kynwricus in præsentia omnium de patria juravit, nisi omnes de patria ararent quod ipsi infra tempus ponerent, et ipsi multum timuerunt metu qui potuit cadere in constantem virum.

DUODECIMO. Quod præcones de Tegeyngl emerunt officium præconiarum pro 30 marcis a domino rege, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictos præcones tam pecunia quam præconia spoliavit contra legem et consuetudinem Anglicanam.

TERTIODECIMO. Septem nobiles fuerunt interfecti minus iuste ab Anglicis, et adhuc parentes prædictorum aliquam satisfactionem non habuerunt, cum illi malefactores fuerunt capti; et postmodum prædictos malefactores remiserunt prædicti constabularii impunitos.

QUARTODECIMO. Constabularius unus de Ruthlan tradit duos Satellites domini regis in carcere, pro eo quod ipsi



ipsi tenuerunt aliquem Anglicum qui grave delictum commisit hominem alium vulnerando.

ISTI omnes articuli in præmissis nominati, fuerunt perpetrati contra prædictorum virorum libertatem, iurisdictionem, et privilegium et contre legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam; videlicet, quod non erant auri eorum quarelas domino regi per suos nuncios denuntiare, propter metum Reginaldi et timorem, qui metus potuit cadere in constantem virum: quia prædictus Reginaldus sua voce Dilvada fuit protestatus; quod sin inveniret nuntios prædictorum quod eosdem decapitaret prout nobis ex parte unius ex consilio suo fuit certive intimatum. In tantum quod lingua non potest proferre, nec penna scribere in quantum prædicti homines de Tegeyngl fuerunt aggravati.

Openly.

CONQUERITUR vobis, domine archiepiscopo Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, Lewelinus filius Griffini filii Madoci de constabulario de cruce Oswaldi regis, et de hominibus ejusdem villæ, qui prædictum Lewelinum tertia parte cujusdam villæ quæ vocatur Ledrot, et curia patris sui, sine observatione juris patriæ suæ vel consuetudine iniquiter spoliarunt.

PRÆTEREA. Prædictus constabularius et sui complures eundem Lewelinum communi pastura, qua prædictus Lewelinus usus fuit temporibus retroactis, ordine juris patriæ minime observare, spoliarunt, et in 70 libris occasione prædictæ pasturæ condemnaverint. Cæterum dominus rex Angliæ concessit quassdam literas cuidam Bastardo, scilicet Griffino Fychan ab Cynlhaeth, ad litigandum contra eundem Lewelinum pro toto domino suo obtinendo, quarum literarum occasione idem Lewelinus expendit ccl. sterlingorum legalis usualisæ monetæ.

ITERUM.

**ITERUM.** Prædictus constabularius compulsit prædictum Lewelinum ad mittendum duos suos nobiles ad eos suspendendos ad prædictum constabularium quicquid viri nobiles suspendi minime debuissent, quam suspensionem nollent parantes prædictorum hominum sustinuisse pro ccc libris sterlingorum. Postmodum prædictus constabularius incacerravit bis 60 homines prædicti Lewelini nulla præmissa ratione, nisi quod quidam garsio emisit quandam vocem, nec potuerunt evadere suum carcerem donec quilibet eorum solvit decem solidos pro sua deliberatione.

**ITEM.** Quando homines prædicti Lewelini venirent ad forum ad suos boves vendendos, prædictus constabularius faceret boves deduci ad castrum, nec postmodum boves restituere, nec pretium solveret venditori: præsertim idem constabularius et sui ceperunt jumenta prædicti Lewelini ad terram suam propriam, et de eisdem jumentis fecerunt suam voluntatem.

**PRÆTEREA.** Justiciarii domini regis compulserunt prædictum Lewelinum ad tradendum quandam villam filiis Easoni filii Griffini; qui quidem prædictam villam, nec a se, nec a prædecessoribus fuerunt consecuti, ordine juris patriæ suæ in hac parte minime observato.

**IDEM.** Prædictus constabularius abstulit equum ballivi prædicti Lewelini sine aliqua ratione, nec sibi aliquid debebatur; nec adhuc prædictus ballivus satisfactionem aliquam est consecutus.

**CÆTERUM.** Quando prædictus Lewelinus volebat adire villam quæ vocatur Caerlleon cum literis domini regis ad compertendum ibidem in die sibi assignata; filii Griffini filii Gwenynny et armigeri domini Rogeri Starainge ex consilio Rogeri eundem Lewelinum et suos incarcerarant in sui injuriam et suorum non modicam læsionem; quam injuriam et læsionem nollet prædictus Lewelinus et sui sustinuisse pro ccc marcis

marci sterlingorum; nec ab eisdem potuit evadere donec invenit pro se sufficientem cautionem.

Hrs et aliis receptis in scriptis accessit, archiepiscopus ad dominum regem; supplicans ei humiliter ut gravamina supradicta dignetur avertere, et ea correctione debita terminare: et saltem pro tanto habere excessus Wallensium excusatos: qui respondit Wallenses injuriis sibi illatis esse excusabiles, quia omni tempore poratus extiterat omni facere justitiam conquerenti: quo audito, archiepiscopus regi iterum supplicavit ut permitteret Wallenses pro suis gravaminibus exponendis et remediis afferendiis ap ipsum habere accessum liberum et regresum: qui respondit quod libere permitteret eos ad se accedere sed et redira; si secundum justitiam regresus eorum meritis responderet. Quibus auditis accessit archiepiscopus ad principem Walliæ in Saawdoniam ut tam ipsum quam Davidem fratrem suum et ceteros Wallenses ad aliquam humilitatis regulam ipsorum animos inclinaret; per quam posset qui ipsorum nuntius regiam clementiam ad ipsos admittendos in gratiam inclinare. Post varios autem tractatus respondit princeps: quod paratus erat voluntati regis se supponere duobus præsuppositis, salva scilicet conscientia sua qua populo suo assistere tenebatur; salva etiam condescenduntia status sui. Quæ cum archiepiscopus retulisset domino regi, respondit dominus rex quod nullum alium de pace volebat cum principe ac subditis suis habere tractatum, nisi quod ipsi supponerent se in omnibus regia voluntati: et cum constaret archiepiscopo Wallenses nullo modo velle se regis voluntati supponere, nisi præcite in forma eis tolerabili et accepta, tractatum habuit ex permissione domini regis cum magnatibus tunc præsentibus, qui omnes consenserunt in articulos infra scriptos, quos per fratrem Joannem Wallensem inscriptos principi et suis archiepiscopus destinavit.

PRIMO. Quod dominus rex de quatuor cantredis et terris ab eo datis, magnatibus suis nullum vult habere tractatum, nec etiam de insula Anglesey.

IDEM. De tenentibus eorum cantredorum si ad suam pacem venerint, proponit facere prout concedet regiam majestatem, credimus. ramen quod aget cum eis misericorditer si ad pacem venerint, et ad hoc proponimus una cum cæteris amicis efficaciter laborare, sperantes efficaciter exaudiri.

ITEM. De facto domini Lewelini nullum potuimus aliud habere responsum nisi quod simpliciter et absolute conformet ad domini regis voluntatem, ut credimus firmiter quod dominus rex cum eo aget misericorditer, et ad hoc intendimus cum totis viribus laborare cum cæteris amicis exaudiendis ut confidimus cum effectu.

PRIMO. Quod procures hanc formam gratiæ regiæ conceperunt; ut videlicet domino Lewelino se regiæ gratiæ submitte, provideatur ei per regem honorifice in mille libris sterlingorum de aliquo honorifico comitatu, in aliquo loco Angliæ; ita tamen quod prædictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in Seyfina Snaudonum absolute, perpetue et quiete. Et ipse rex filię principis secundum condicessiam sui proprii sanguinis providebit, et ad hoc sperant se posse regis animum inclinare.

ITEM. Si contingat Lewelinum ducere uxorem et habere de ea puellam masculam, intendunt impetrare procures a domino rege, ut proles illa succedat perpetuo hæreditario Lewelini in terra masculorum liberorum videlicet comitatu.

ITEM. De populo principi immediate subiecto tam in Snaudon quam alibi providebiter secundum deum prout complete saluti ejusdem populi et honori; et ad hoc est regia clementia



elementia satis prona, populo desiderans consolabiliter providere.

PRIMO. Quod si ad honorem Dei at suum juxta crucis assumptæ debitum velit in terræ sanctæ subsidium proficisci, providebitur ei honorifice secundum condescensionem status sui, ita tamen quod non redeat nisi per regiam clementiam vocatus: rogabimus etiam dominum regem, et speramus efficaciter exaudiri, ut provideat proli suæ.

HIS omnibus motu nostro subjungimus Wallensibus omnia pericula imminere longe gravius quam eis diximus oraculo vivæ vocis: scribimus dure valde sed longe durius est obrui vi et armis, et in fine totaliter extirpari, quoniam omni die pericula nobis imminetia aggravantur.

ITEM. Longe difficilius est omni tempore in guerra esse in angustia cordis et corporis vivere, et semper in infidiis malignari, et cum hoc vivere et mori in peccato mortali continuo et rancore.

ITEM. De quo doleremus valde si ad pacem minime veniatis, indubitanter timeamus contra vos debere sententiam ecclesiasticam intolerabiliter aggravari pro excessibus vestris; de quibus non poteritis vos aliquatenus excusare in quibus invenietis misericordiam, si ad pacem veniatis et de his nobis respondeatur in scriptis.

*Reverendissim*

*Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino J. Dei gratia  
 Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ac totius Angliæ primati  
 suus in Christo devotus filius Lewelinus princeps  
 Walliæ, dominus Snaudou, salutem cum desideriis  
 benevolentie filialis ac reverentis multimodis et  
 honoribus.*

SANCTE pater, sicut vosmet consulistis, ad gratiam regiam parati sumus venire sub forma tamen nobis secura et honesta: sed quia forma contenta in articulis nobis missis minime secura est et honesta prout nobis et consilio nostro videtur; et de qua multum admirantur omnes audientes, eo quod plus tendit ad destructionem et ruinam populi nostri ac nostram, quam ad nostram honestatem et securitatem, nullo modo permittit consilium nostrum nos in ea consentire si vellemus; alii quoque nobiles et populus nobis subiectus nullo modo consentirent in eandem ob indubitatam destructionem et dissipationem quæ inde eis possent evenire.

TAMEN supplicamus vestræ sanctæ paternitati quatenus ad reformationem pacis debita, honestæ, et secutæ, ob quam tot labores assumpsistis, proinde laboretis, collationem habentes ad articulos quos vobis mittimus in scriptis: honorabilis enim est et rationi magis consonum ut de domino rege teneamus terras in quibus jus habemus, quam nos exheredare et eas tradere alienis. Datum apud Garthcelyn.

PRIMO. Quod licet dominus rex de quatuor Cantredis et aliis terris ab eo datis magnatibus suis, ac de Insula Anglesey nullum voluerit habere tractatûm, tamen consilium principis non permittit, si contingat aliquam pacem fieri, quin tractetur de premisis; eo quod isti Cantredi sunt de puro principis tenemento, in quibus merum jus habuerunt principes et prædecessores sui à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti, tum quia  
 sunt

sunt de principatu, cujus confirmationem princeps obinet pro bonæ memoriæ Octobonum sedis *Apostolicæ* legatum in Anglia, consensu domini regis et sui patris ad hoc intervenienti, sicut pater Chartas eorum inspicienti, tum quia etiam equius est quod veri hæredes teneant dictos Cantredos de domino rege pro pecunia et servitiis consuetis, quam eos dari extraneis et Advenis, qui et si fuerunt regere aliquam tamen per vim et potentiam.

DICUNT etiam comiter omnes tenentes de omnibus Cantredis Walliæ quod non sunt ausi venire ad voluntatem regis ut de eis disponat secundum regiam majestatem.

PRIMO. Quod dominus rex nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec Chartas servavit ab initio versus dominum suum principem et ipsos.

SECUNDO. Quia regales in ecclesias et ecclesiasticas personas inivit crudelissimam tyrannidem.

TERTIO. Quod non tenentur ad prædicta, cum sint homines principis qui etiam paratus est de dictis tenementis domino regi obedire per servitia consueta. Ad id quod dicit quod princeps veniet simpliciter et absolute ad voluntatem domini regis: respondetur quod cum nulli de dictis Cantredis ausi sint venire ad talem voluntatem propter causas prædictas, nec comitas eorum permittat principem venire ad dictam voluntatem modo prædicto.

ITEM. Quod proceres regni procurent ut domino principi provideatur in mille libratibus in aliquo loco Angliæ; dicatur quod illam provisionem non debet acceptare cum sit procurata per dictos proceres, qui nituntur ad exhereditationem principis, ut habeant terras suas in Wallia. Item idem princeps non tenetur dimittere hæreditatem suam et progenitorum suorum in Wallia à tempore Bruti, et etiam sibi

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confirmatam per Romanę sedis legatum, ut dictum est; et terram in Anglia acceptare, unde linguam, mores et leges ac consuetudines ignorat; ubi possent etiam sibi quædam malitiori imponi ex odio inveterato à vicinis Anglicis quibus terra illa privaretur in perpetuum.

ITEM. Ex quo rex proponit privare principem suā pristinā hæreditate, non videtur probabile quod rex permetteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur probabile quod rex permetteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur habere. Et si etiam non permetteretur principi terra sterilis et inculta jure hæreditario ab antiquo et debita in Wallia; nullatenus permetteretur eidem in Anglia terra sterilis culta et habundans.

ITEM. Quod dictus princeps ponat dominum regem in Seyfno Snawdon absolute, perpetue et quiete: dicatur quod cum Snawdon sit de appendiciis principatus Walliæ, quem ipse et antecessores sui tenuerunt à tempore Bruti, ut dictum est; consilium suum non permittit eum renuntiare dicto loco, et locum nimis sibi debitum in Anglia receptare.

ITEM. Populus Snawdon dicit, quod licet princeps vellet dare regi Seyfinam eorundem, ipsi tamen nollent homagium facere alicui extraneo, cujus linguam, mores, legesque penitus ignorant. Quia sic posset contingere eos in perpetuum captivari, ac crudeliter tractari, sicut alii Cantredi circumquaque per Ballivos regis ac alios regales alias tractati fuerunt, crudelius quam Saraceni; prout patet in rotulis quos vobis miserunt sancte pater. Ista sunt dicenda pro Davide fratre principis. Quod cum voluerit terram sanctam adire hoc faciet voluntarie et ex voto pro Deo non pro homine, unde invitus non peregrinabitur Deo dante; qui coacta servitia Deo novit displicere. Et si contingat ipsum in posterum terram sanctam adire bona ductus voluntate, non propter hoc deberent ipse et hæredes sui in perpetuum exhereditari;

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inamò potius præmium obtinere. Præterea quia princeps, et sui causa odii, ad aliquos concipiendi, vel lucri captandi non mōvērūt guerram alienas terras invadendo; sed suam propriam hæreditatem jura libertateque, necnon suorum defendendo; dominusque rex et sui odio inveterato, et causa lucrandi terras nostras guerram fecit: credimus in hoc justam guerram nos fovere, et speramus in hac Deum nos velle juvare, ac in ecclesiarum devastatores divinam ultionem convertere, qui ecclesias funditus destruxerunt ac combusserunt, sacra ex eis rapuerunt, Sacerdotes, Clericos, religiosos, claudos, surdos, mutos, infantes, ubera lactentes, ac debiles et miserabiles personas, ut usque sexu occiderunt; et alia enormia perpetrarunt, sicut in dictis rotulis vobis transmissis continetur: unde absit à sancta paternitate vestra sententiam aliquam fulminare in alios quam in illos qui prædicta perpetrarunt. Nos enim qui regalibus prædicta passi fuimus, speramus à vobis super præmissis paternum solatium, et remedium obtinere; et in prædictos sacrilegos eorumque fautores, qui nullo super his privilegio defenduntur, animadvertere; ne præ defectu dignæ correctionis seu ultionis in eos exercendo prædicta mala in perpetuum per alios trahantur in exemplum.

MIRANTUR etiam quamplures in terra nostra, quod convulsistis nobis dimittere terram nostram propriam, et alienam adire inter hostes nostros comersando; quia ex quo non possumus pacem habere in terra quæ nostra est ipso jure nostro, minime poterimus in aliena terra inter hostes nostros pacem conservari: et licet durum sit in guerra et insidiis vitam decere; durius tamen est funditus destrui, et ad nihilum, nisi Deus avertat, deduci populum Christianum qui nihil aliud querit nisi sua jura defendere; unde necessitas ad hoc nos cogit, et inimicorum cupiditas non offendit; et vos, sancte pater, coram nobis dixistis, quod vos sententiaſtis in omnes qui impediunt pacem causa odii vel lucri; sed manifestum est qui sunt illi qui guerrant istis causis.

TIMOR enim mortis, et incarcerationis, vel perpetuæ exhereditationis, nulla observatio fœderum pastorum vel charitarum, tyrannica dominatio, vel multa alia consimilia cogunt nos esse in guerris; et hoc Deo et vobis ostendimus, et petimus à vobis paternum adjutorium, ut patet in literis nostris.

Ab hoc multi alii in regno Angliæ offenderunt regem et tamen nullos exheredavit in perpetuum, ut dicitur; unde si aliqui ex nostris ipsum offenderunt injuste, dignum est ut satisfaciant prout possint sine exheredatione; et sicut in vobis confidimus, supplicamus quod ad hoc laboretis sancte pater: nam est nobis imponatur quod fregimus pacem, tamen illi verius frugerunt qui nullum fœdus vel pactum nobis servaverunt; qui nullam emendam de quærimoniis nobis fecerunt, ut patet in rotulis.

*Primo auditis rescriptit Archiepiscopus Wallensibus  
in hæc verba:*

IN nomine domini, Amen. Cum nos frater J. permissione divina Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humilis totius Angliæ primas, scientes nostro incumbere officio, pro vobis domine Leweline princeps Walliæ ac subditis vestris exponere nos et nostra spretis viarum incommotis et periculis, vestram adjuverimus præsentiam oves erroneas reducturi; et speculatoris fungentis officio vobis mysteriæ vivæ vocis diximus pericula quæ genti vestræ videbamus luce clarius imminere, subjunctis remediis eorundem; teste optantes altissimo juxta pontificale debitum cuilibet vestrum ecclesiam minimo de corpore nostro pontem facere ad salutis littora reducendo. Tandem vestris auditis precibus et angustiiis eas ut necessitatis vestræ nuntius præsentavimus regiæ majestati, quem ab olim ad penitentes adversarios introitum scimus esse propitium; ut quidam de vestris et aliis ut nobis certus constat iudiciis  
ipsum

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ipſus clementia abutantur. Traſtaviſimus inſuper cum magnatibus et proceribus Angliæ præſentibus de modificatione gratiæ regiæ ipſorum aſſiſtentia noſtris vobis ſupplicationibus impretranda, cuius modificationis ſeriem per ſervum Dei fratrem Johannem Wallenſem vobis miſimus in ſcriptum, una cum conſilio noſtro quod vobis ſecundum deum ſalubris videbatur; vos autem deliberationem veſtram nobis in quadam remiſiſtis cedula per eundem, cuius cedulæ perniciſioſa latebras vobis paterno affectu præſentibus aperimus. Primò igitur diſtis vos juri nolle cedere quatuor Cantredarum, quia progenitores veſtri à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti in eiſdem juris plenitudinem habuerunt; ſed ne ſimpliciores in vobis de ſucceſſu huiusmodi gloriantur, ſalva in omnibus pace veſtra, vobis licet inviti ipſius radicem originis ex geſis Britonum et Anglorum ad memoriam revocamus. Diſperſis enim olim Trojanis pro eo quod Paridis adulterium deſenſarunt; fatemur progenitores veſtræ multitudinis interpoſitis quibuſdam ſeditionibus fugæ ſibi præſidium aſſumpſiſſe; et utinam non maneat in eis huiusmodi contagii memoria qui ſic libera matrimonia parvipendunt ut ſpurios et inceſtu genitos à ſucceſſione hæreditaria ut dicitur non repellunt, quin potius uxores legitimæ Howeli da patrociniæ, contra Brutum dato repudio ſana teſte, vel potius infamia repelluntur; qualiter demum Brutus Dianæ præſagius non ſine diabolipræſigiis per idolatriam immolato Cervæ Venatiæ obtentis, inſulam Britannicam pervæſit per ſamoſas hiſtorias declaratur; pervæſit inquam inhabitatam inſulam, agentibus ſtatura proceris quarum peremit fortiſſimum Corineus. Gentibus inquam de boreali præſapia quæ non ſolum . . . . . verum etiam Scythiam trans Danubium ab occidente noſtro per Aquilonis latera uſque in Orientales terminos occupavit. Quam ergo quæſumus fecerunt vobis injuriam Angli et Saxones ejuſdem generis, ſi vos proceſſu temporis ab uſurpato dominio perturbarunt: cum ſcriptum eſſe noveritis, vz qui prædatis in omne prædaberis. Non oportet autem ſimpliciter in radice adulterina proceſſu idololatriæ, et uſurpationis ſpoliis

spoliis gloriari. Progenitores insuper vestri moderniores, cum enervati deliciis sibi non sufficerent defendendis, obruentibus eos Scotis et Pictis, denegato etiam eis Romani imperii præsidio postulato, ad Germanorum refugium convolarunt, qui venientes repudiarunt, hostes usque in præsentem diem suarum labores manuum manducantes. Ex his causis quum sedet sola à vobis insula olim populo plenâ, vestro profcribente Jeremia, quia prophetæ tui viderunt tibi vana et stulta; item prædictorum juribus Cantredorum confirmationem legati frivole allegatis, cum non fuerit intentionis suæ jura regia, seu etiam jura civilia et Canonica, sicut nec potuit enervare: pro crimine enim læsæ majestatis, in quod vos incidisse dicimini, juxta quod scribitur sexta quæstione. Secunda paragrapho; *Si quis cum militibus*, et 22. *Quæst. ultima capitulo* de forma fidelitatis. Omne perit jus hæreditarium et expirat: in Cantredis igitur prædictis in quibus ab olim domino regi jus dicitur adquisitum, et in Snawdon ac cæteris quæ teneris jure hæreditario, nihil potestis sicut nec subditi vestri, ut ex præallegatis videtur, nisi ex sola regia clementia prætolari. Dicitur demum quod populus non vult ad gratiam regiam convolare, quia dominus rex, nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec chartarum fœdera principi conservavit. Ex nos querimus ex cujus vel quorum istud sit judicio declaratum, nisi per vos qui in causa propria judicium usurpatis, et per singulas lustrales periodos pacem infringitis, innocentes jugulatis, incendia facitis, munitiones regias pro viribus vastatis; ac domini Howell da quitalia injuriarum remedia in lege sua quam vidimus instituit, autoritate quam ei diabolus delegavit. Præterea in regem impungitis, dicentes, quod regales ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas crudeli vastavit tyrannide, et consumunt; ad quod taliter respondemus, quod dominus rex prædicta mala nec fieri mandavit, nec rata habuit, quin potius nobis obtulit ultronei, quod quam citò aderit oportunitas ecclesiarum proponit dispendia rescire; quod differt usque ad sedatam guerræ tempestatem, ne si prius fieret destruerentur iterum per latrones. Præterea

timetis

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timetis in Anglia honorem fuscipere, ne consequenter vobis occasionata malitia auferatur, cum tamen fateamini quod dominus re nullum suum exheredaverit inimicum; quod frustra vos timere credimus, si legaliter vivere vos et vestri didiceritis, et non a parti cum domino vestro contendere vel certare. Mores vobis et populo vestro causamini incognitos; et nos è contrario opinamur quod expediret vobis omnibus in modum alium et mores penitus transformari. Cum enim sitis sicut cæteri homines donis Dei gratuitis adornati, sed in vestro Anglo devoramini: ut nec ecclesiam juvenis contra hostes fidei militando; nec Clerum studio sapientia, exceptis paucissimis, decoretis; quin potius major pars vestrum torpet otio et lasciviis, ut pene nesciat mundus vos esse populum, nisi per paucos ex vobis qui videntur ut plurimum in—mendicare. Deinde scribitis quod creditis altissimum vos juvare pro justitia decretantes; utinam inquam altissimus juvet vos salubriter et dirigat ad salutem. Sed ne ruinas aliquas Angelorum ex inconsideratione sua provenientes vestris velis meritis arrogare curetis advertere qualiter qui in cælis habitat fatuos sublimat et elevat ad modicum ut perpetuo allidat; sic certe oilium populus Dei electus ante harum repertam civitatem pro unius Anathemate consortis versus in fugam quosdam suorum perdidit bellatorum: sic certe quater centena millia bellatorum duodecim tribuum Israel in suo numero et fortitudine confidentes ab unius tribus modico populo, occisis ex 40 millibus bellatorum, per vices varias sunt confusi: cum tamen purgato unius Anathemate, prædicta Civitas finaliter deleta fuerit per illos, qui prius confusi fuerant; et per lacrymas placato domino cum jejuniis, oblatis sacrificiis, tribus illa quæ prævaluerat prius, per prius confusos quasi totaliter sit deleta; sic certe aliter flagellat dominus filios quos recipit, et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Ista vobis scribimus in cordis amaritudine ab his partibus recedentes, nec preindicare intendimus salubriori consilio, si vobis cœlitus destinetur, nec latere vos volumus quod nullum per vos invenimus excusationis sufficiens reme-

remedium, quo obstante minime debeatis in excors Irnam incidisse pernuntiarî; dudum latet in Oxon consilio contra pacis regiæ turbatores, viam autem pacis aliam invenire non possumus, nec adhuc in spe sumus aliud obtinendi. Sed si nobis aliquid consultius videatur agendum, vobis numquam claudemus gremium, nec auxilium denegabimus opportunum. Dat. apud Ruthelan 18 Calend. Decemb. Ann. Dom. 1282.

LEWELINUS autem princeps Walliæ prædictus spretis omnibus oblationibus et pacis formis post scriptis, invasit hostiliter terram domini regis Angliæ destruendo eam incendio et rapina, nec non homines terræ illius ad se trahendo, et à bonitate pacis regiæ separando. Qui tamen princeps infra mensem illum ignominiosa morte primus de exercitu suo occisus est, per familiam domini Edmundi de mortuo mari, filii domini Rogeri de mortuo mari; et totus exercitus suus vel oculus, vel in fugam conversus in partibus Montis Gomerici die Veneris proximo, ante Festum S. Lucæ, videlicet 3. Id. Decemb. sub Anno. Dom. 1282. In——decima littera dominicali D. currente.



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David ap Gryffyth	- 1282	277

*South Wales* deſcribed, I. 226, 227. The princes of, paid a tribute as a token of ſubordination, to North Wales, 217, 218. Meredydh, prince of South Wales, paid tribute to the Danes, one penny for every perſon within his dominions, 299, 300. The principality ſubdued by Engliſh lords, 372, 373. The Engliſh driven out, 391. Seven eminent chieftains, lords in South Wales, did homage to Henry II. and his ſon Henry, 516.

*Wales*, Engliſh princes of; Edward, ſon of Henry III. II. 113. Edward, ſon of Edward I. 320.

*Walter*, an illegitimate ſon of Neſt, the daughter of Gryffyth ap Llewelyn, was appointed Lord Steward of Scotland, and from his office his deſcendants took the name of Stuart, I. 337—339.

*Walters*, the Rev. *John*, the author much indebted to him, II. 342.

*Warden* of the Marches, Richard de Belmarſh, biſhop of London, I. 403. Lord Fitzwarren, 437. *John*, lord of Monmouth, II. 76.

*Watchman* of the palace of the king of Wales, I. 267, 268.

*Welsh*, the ancient manners of, I. 158—201.

*Welsh*,

# I N D E X.

*Welsh*, united with the Danes against the Saxons, I. 207, 208.

—, their laws, 242—283.

—, reduced to the greatest distress by the depredations of the Irish and English, II. 128, 129. Entirely conquered, 289. Their character, 144, 290, 291, 347, 348. Declared that they would not obey one who was not a native of Wales, or a resident there, 318. Raise insurrections after they were conquered, 326—345. Petition for an union with England, 353—361. which was granted them by act of parliament, 362—364.

*Welsh Chronicle*, extract from, I. 349.

*Wessex*, the kingdom of, founded, I. 100, 112.

*Widdrington*, at the battle of, Cadwallon routed by Edwin king of Deira, I. 133.

*Wight*, the Isle of; the Belgic inhabitants engaged in commerce resided there, I. 8.

*William of Normandy*, while he conquered England, the Welsh were inactive, I. 342, 343. Conspiracy against him, in which some Welsh chieftains were involved, 346, 347. He received the homage and the oath of fealty from the Welsh princes, 360.

*William Rufus*, in the reign of, the Welsh rushed with fury on the English Marches, I. 363. Excited the English lords to conquer the Welsh, 371, 395, 396. Marched against the Welsh and is repulsed, 390. Entered Wales a second time at the head of an army, and returned with disgrace, 393, 394. His death, 401.

*Woden*, the founder of the Saxon nation, and regarded as the deity who presided in war, I. 65.

*Wolvet*, heads of, paid as a tribute by the Welsh to king Edgar, I. 286.

*Wotton's*, Dr. edition of the laws of Howel Dha, I. 281.

note.

I. *Caer-ar-Clwyd*, a town standing on the Clyde; Dun Barton,

# **NAMES OF PLACES, and some other Words, BRITISH and ENGLISH.**

*Aber*, that point where a river discharges itself into

another river or the sea.

*Aberdaugleddau*, Milford Haven.

*Abergefnî*, Abergavenny.

*Aberbondau*, Brecknock.

*Aleth*, Allectus, the name of a prince.

*Ap*, son.

*Arddysfich*, inhabitants north of the Dyff.

*Argwyddi*, lords.

*Beirdd*, bards.

*Bela*, martin.

*Brenhin Cymru Oll*, king of all Wales.

*Breithin Prydain Oll*, king of all Britain.

*Brigynnyys*, first-comets, Brigantes.

*Bryneich*, Bernicia.

*Caer-ar-Clwyd*, a town standing on the Clyde; Dun Barton,

*Caer Badon*, Bath; by Ptolomy, Aquæ Calidæ; by the

Saxons, Bathe.

*Caer Efrog*, York; Euerwyke, by the Saxons; Eboracum;

by the Romans.

*Caer Gaur*, Stone-henge.

*Caer-Lleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy*, the city of the legions upon the

water of Dee; Chester; by the Saxons, Legan-Cestre;

in Latin, Deva.

*Caer-Lleon-ar-Wyſg*, the city of legions upon the river

Uſke.

*Caer Ludd*, from king Ludd; Llundain; London.

*Caer Went*, Winchester.

*Camaled-ddin*, and *Camddin*, Camulodunum.

*Cantr'f Coch*, the forest of Dean.

*Caradog*,



# NAMES, &c. BRITISH AND ENGLISH.

*Caradog*, Caractacus.  
*Caron*, Carausius.  
*Caswallan*, Cassivellaunus.  
*Cathgoed*, polecat.  
*Cefn-y-bedd*, the top of the grave.  
*Clawdd Offa*, Offa's dyke.  
*Corn-buelin*, cornet, or bugle horn.  
*Gymru*, Wales.  
*Gymry*, the Welsh.  
*Gyndeyrn*, Cartigern, (Vortimer's brother.)  
*Gynfelyn*, Cunobeline.  
*Gynwv*, or chief water, Conway.  
*Cystyn Ddu*, Constantine the Black.  
*Deifr*, Deira.  
*Derwyddon*, or *Drywiddion*, Druids.  
*Dial Rodri*, Roderic's revenge.  
*Dinas Beli*, from having been the residence of Belus;  
 originally Tronewydd; London.  
*Dinas Hwâr*, or the great palace; Dinevawr.  
*Dinbech*, Denbigh.  
*Dinwydr*, Widdrington.  
*Dinoeth*, Dunothus (abbot of Bangor.)  
*Dysed*, Pembroke.

*Emrys Wledig*, Ambrosius; son of the black army.

*Glumaen*, the tribute of the black army.

*Goch*, red head.

*Goeangiaid*, a number of stout young men belonging to each nation, whose business was to protect the cattle; Cangi.

*Gwrtbessyr Fendigaid*, eldest son Vortimer.

*Gwrtbeyrn Gwrthbenau*, Vortigern.

*Gwy*, Wye.

*Gwydd*, (a conspicuous place;) Isle of Wight.

*Gwynedd*, l. p. 34. *Gwynedd*, p. 224. North Wales; the

*Venedocia* of the Romans.

*Guyr-y-mars*, the men of Mercia.

N n

*Hafren*,



# NAMES, &c. BRITISH AND ENGLISH.

*Hafren*, Severn.

*Hen Fynyw*, Menevia.

*Iſetwyr*, Lowlanders.

*Iwrcb*, roebuck.

*Law-bir*, long-handed.

*Llanymddyfri*, Llandoverly.

*Lloegr*, England.

*Llydaw*, (along the water) Armorica.

*Macſen Wledig*, Maximus.

*Maelged*, a tribute.

*Maes Mawr*, Salisbury plains.

*Manaw*, Isle of Man.

*Medd*, mead.

*Maddrawd*, Mordred.

*Pengwern*, (the head of a place where alders grow)

*Mathraval*.

*Pennilion*,anzas.

*Pibgorn*, pipe, (a musical instrument.)

*Rbuddlan*, red banks.

*Rhyd Ychen*, the ford of Oxen; by the Saxons, **Oxenford**;  
Oxford.

*Saesſon*, Saxons.

*Saesſonaeg*, the Saxon language.

*Seaxes*, a scythe.

*Sirigi*, the rover.

*Tabwrdd*, tabret.

*Tafwysc*, or Tame water; Thames.

*Tegeingl*, Tegenia by the Romans; Englefeld by the Sax-

ons; a part of Strath-Cliwyd.

*Tebyn*, harp.

*Teyrnged*, royal tribute.

*Trallwg*, Pool (in Montgomeryshire.

*Trif-*

NAMES, &c. BRITISH AND ENGLISH.

*Treffynnon*, Holywell.

*Tŷe'n-abantwys*, Trinobantes.

*Tŷonewydd*, or New Troy ; London.

*Tŷ Dewi*, St. David, formerly Menevia.

*Tŷ Gwyn ar Daf*, Whiteland in Caermarthenshire.

*Tŷwi*, the river Towy in Caermarthenshire.

*Ucheyniaid*, upper settlers ; Iceni.

*Wledig*, illustrious.

*Ynys Afallon*, or *Ynys Wydrin*, Glastonbury abbey.

*Yryri*, mountains of snow, Snowdun.

*Ystrad Chwyd*, Strath-Clyde.

*Ystrad Fflur*, Strata-Florida, (in the county of Caerdigan.)

*Ystradgwy*, bordering on the Wye ; Radnorshire.

*Ystrad Tŷwi*, the banks of the Towy.

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T H E E N D.

## THE END.



the banks of the Lowi.  
 the banks of the Wye; Radnorshire.  
 the banks of the Elwy; (in the county of Caerliffon.)  
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